28: Spiro--1 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians 1-4
116, 131 Ifalik

"The Ifaluk atoll is part of the larger culture area known as Micronesia. Micronesia lies north of Melanesia, occupying the region between, approximately, 20'N. and 5'S. latitude, and 130' and 180'E. longitude. It includes five major island groups: the Palaus, Carolines, Marianas, Gilberts, and Marshalls.

The Caroline Islands, of which Ifaluk is a part, lie south of Guam, west of the Marshalls, north of New Guinea, and east of the Phillipines. They form a broad belt extending from 131'E. longitude to 163'E. longitude, and from 1' to 10'N. latitude."

28: Spiro--1 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 133 Ifalik

Geologically, these islands are of three forms: the coral islands, or atolls, represented by Ifaluk; those of sedimentary rock formation, such as Yap; and those of volcanic origin, like the northern Palaus."

"Ifaluk, a low coral atoll, is located at 7'15'' N., 144'27'' E. The atoll is two miles in length, and 1.6 miles in breadth. It has three fairly large islands: Felarik, in the north-east, Falalap in the south-east, and Ella on the south side of the atoll. There is also a small islet in the south-west. The oval lagoon is about 5 miles in circumference, and is nearly one square mile in area. It is entered by a shallow passage between ella and Falalap. (1)"

"1. The native canoes have no difficulty at all, of course, in making the passage. But only the smallest of navy ships can do so. The LSM that brought us to Ifaluk got in without too much difficulty, but it required three attempts to get out. As a result no attempt was made by the succeeding ships to enter the lagoon."

28: Spiro--1 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 132 Ifalik

"Data on climate in Ifaluk are hard to obtain. The few instruments we had with us became casualities of the humidity. But the figures on temperature we did obtain seem to corroborate the official temperature recorded for the entire area by the Germans and Japanese. These give a mean temperature of 80' F. with variation of no more than four degrees. (2)

The average relative humidity for the Western Carolines is about 81 per cent. Despite this relatively high humidity, the climate is not uncomfortable; on the contrary, I found it quite pleasant. This is probably due to the prevailing winds and the trees which shade the islands and protect them from the glaring sun.

Rainfall is relatively heavy. The figures vary, but an average of 100 inches is a safe figure."

"2. Civil Affairs Handbook, West Caroline Islands, 1944."

28: Spiro--1-2 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 132, 805, 831 Ifalik

"There are two seasons in this area, that of the prevailing westerlies, and that of the prevailing easterlies. The latter is the season of the tradewinds, and enters about the middle of November. The natives largest unit of time is this climate season, which is called a *rag*. They recognize neither the solar nor the lunar year, but the *rag* is easily ascertained because of the abrupt change in the direction of the winds. The months in the *rag* are named, but are of little importance in the culture; most of the people, indeed, do not remember the names. The current month is the important month, and is referred to by the generic name for month, *maram*, which is also the name for moon. [2]

There is, of course, no conception of the week. The day is divided into fourteen parts, all of which are named, and indicated by the movement of the sun. The night, too, is divided into fourteen parts, indicated by the position of the stars, of which the natives named and identified forty for me. But these divisions are almost never used. The four divisions, morning, noon, afternoon, and night are usually sufficient for their needs."

28: Spiro--2 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 174 Ifalik

"Very little is known of the origin of the Carolinians, (1) The evidence seems to indicate that the islands were originally inhabited by a wave of migration from Indonesia at an unknown date. It is believed that the Polynesians moved into the Pacific about 1200 A.D. via Micronesia, but it is still a moot point as to whether the Micronesians preceeded or succeeded them. Diego da Rocha, a Portuguese captain, seems to have been the discoverer of the Western Carolines. He sighted Yap and Ulithi in 1526, five years after Magellan's discovery of the Marianas. Except for a voyage by Sir Francis Drake in 1588, the only visitors to the area for the next century and a half were Spaniards. Nevertheless, Spain made no attempt to establish trade, colonies, or missions in the area during either the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries traders and explorers of various nationalities added information to the growing stock of knowledge concerning the islands."

"1. Civil Affairs Handbook, West Caroline Islands, 1944. Davidson, Sutherland D., Oceania, 1947. Krieger, Herbert W. Island Peoples of the Western Pacific, 1943."

28: Spiro--2-3 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-3
116, 177 Ifalik

"Ifaluk was discovered by the Englishman, John Wilson, in 1797, and was visited by the Russian scientist, Lutke, in 1828.

The contacts of the natives with the early Spanish and Portuguese explorers were very slight. Discouragedby early abortive attempts to establish missions in Sonsorol and Ulithi, the Spanish withdrew from all activity in the Western Carolines until the end of the nineteenth century. The British raised a flag on the Palaus in 1790, but did not pursue their interest any further.

The Western Carolines were first brought to the attention of the United States by the published reports of an American crew that was shipwrecked on the Palaus in 1832.

After 1840, western traders became interested in the Western Carolines. The natives at first welcomed them with cordial hospitality, despite some sporadic attacks. The westerners introduced livestock, firarms, small-pox, and syphillis into the area.

With the development of trade in the middle of the nineteenth century, Spain, Great Britain, and Germany came into conflict over the sovereignty of the islands. The Spanish rule lasted from 1886 to 1899. Except for some missionary work, Spanish activity in the islands was slight. They established missons [sic] on Yap and Palau, and built military fortifications on Yap, but did not interfere with native life. [3]

At the close of the Spanish-American War, in 1899, Germany bought the Marianas

28: Spiro--2-3 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 177 Ifalik

(except for Guam) and the Carolines from Spain. The Germans began their administration auspiciously. They established administrative headquarters for the Western Carolines on Yap, where they built a new administration building; constructed a hospital, with a resident physician, who trained native assistants, and made tours of the other islands; and established a police force composed of trained natives. The district officers visited the outlying islands and explained to the chiefs that Germany has assumed hegemony over the islands. But aside from depriving the chiefs of the power of inflicting the death penalty, they made little, if any, attempt to interfere with native culture. Only in the promotion of trade did the Germans use dictorial methods. They required an increase in coconut planting, and greater care in the maintenance of the groves. But on the while [sic], 'the German administration was moderate, enlightened, and efficient.' (4)

"4. Civil Affairs Handbook, p. 25"

28: Spiro--2-3 (1947-48) 1949 W.oleaians-3
116, 177 Ifalik

In October, 1914, Japan acquired hegemony over the Carolines, when a Japanese naval squadron took possession of the islands. They were later ceded the islands as a mandate territory by the League of Nations. The primary aims of Japanese imperialism in the islands were political and military. Native rulers were deprived of much of their power, but, again, no concerted attempt was made to change native culture to any appreciable degree. However, the Japanese did establish schools on Yap, to which young boys from the outlying islands, including Ifaluk, were brought for instruction. Here they were taught to read, write, and speak Japanese; arithmetic, drawing, Japanese history, athletics, and political indoctrination. The Japanese also inducted young men from the outlying islands to mine phosphate on the Palaus and on Fais."

28: Spiro--3 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 177 Ifalik

"Despite this long period of contact with the west (and the east) the Western Carolines show little acculturation. This is particularly true of the smaller islands, such as Ifaluk, for the obvious reason that contact was very slight. Trade never became extensive, and what there was was confined pretty well to the larger islands. Missionary activity was restricted to the larger islands, with no attempt to enter the smaller ones. Nor did the islands attract colonists, except for Yap and the Palaus.

Ifaluk, being one of the smaller islands, is, therefore, relatively unacculturated. However, there are some indications of acculturations, particularly in material culture. Although most of the clothes worn by the natives is woven by the women on their looms, many loin cloths are made of cloth introduced by the Japanese. Furthermore, almost every household has some articles of western apparel, such as military coats, jackets, and pants, some shoes or sandals, and many rain coats are in evidence. In preparation of food, almost all the utensils in use are of foreign origin. The wooden bowls, formerly used, have almost completely disappeared. Iron pots and hettles [sic], and tin pans have taken their place. Coconut graters, made of shell, have all been replaced by iron graters. Rain water is collected in rain barrels; the palm wine is collected and kept in Japanese beer bottles. Fire is made with flint and steel, rather than by means of the aboriginal fire plow. (5)"

"5. Note: As so often happens, a practical art when if [sic] falls into disuse, becomes a toy, game, or sport. Boys and young men attempt to light a fire by means of the fire plow in the same spirit that characterizes the attempt of boy scouts to do the same."

1-4

28: Spiro--4 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 412 Ifalik

"In technology, this erstwhile neolithic culture has lost all its stone implements. Steel knives, steel adzes, saws, and planes have replaced the native tools."

28: Spiro--4 [2]
116, 177, 262

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Food supply has also been effected by contact. Chickens and pigs, both in the smallest of quantities, have been introduced into the islands, as well as dogs. The latter are eaten under certain conditions. But more important than what has been introduced are those food products that the natives have tasted, and which have not been introduced, such as rice, milk, and beef, or 'carabou', as the natives call it. These, they tasted while on the larger islands, or when brought in occasionally by the Japanese, and they are very eager to obtain them again. The mothers, particularly, would like canned milk for their babies. One old man said that if he went to American he would do nothing but eat 'carabou'."

28: Spiro--4 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 276 Ifalik

"One of the earliest of borrowed traits was tobacco, which the Spanish introduced into Guam, and which thereafter spread throughout the entire area. Ifaluk grows some tobacco, but not nearly enough for its needs, and, consequently, obtains its tobacco by trade with some of the other islands in the area, such as Faraulep and Lamotrek. The tobacco is smoked as a cigarette, being rolled in banana leaves."

28: Spiro--4 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 771, 757 Ifalik

"In other aspects of culture little acculturation is to be found. Native religion and medicine is intact, despite the introduction of western medicine by the Japanese. The Navy has continued the Japanese policy of holding sick call on its field trips, and of leaving medical supplies with the chiefs. The only item the natives use, however, is cotton, which is used for a head decoration in their dances.

In religion, proper, I found on evidence of borrowing, of whose source, my informant was completely unaware. Arogeligar, the medicine-man, told me what was ostensibly a native creation myth, but which was, unquestionably, the Genesis story. When I asked where he had learned the myth he insisted that his paternal grandmother had taught it to him. Its origin, undoubtedly, is to be traced to missionary influence. Arogeligar, incidentally, was the only person who knew this story. The chiefs, who are the repositors of the folklore, were ignorant of it."

28: Spiro--4-5 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 142 Ifalik

"Since neither Dr. Burrows nor I did any physical measuring, the following descriptions are entirely impressionistic. One of the most impressive facts about physical type on Ifaluk is the degree of variation that obtains, in what is genetically as homogeneous a population as one could possibly find. As far as we know, the natives have never mated outside the little group of islands comprising the Yap district, and within that area, the population is considerably under 1000. And yet there is variation in skin color from light brown to dark (6); in stature from fairly tall to short; in hair form, from frizzly to straight; [5] in nose form, from wide, 'negroid', nostrils to narrow, 'caucasoid' ones; in lip form, from thin to thick, inverted lips. Yet, despite this variation, one would have little difficulty in identifying an Ifaluk as a Carolinian, and as quite different from the 'average' negroid, Caucasoid, or Mongoloid."

"6. There is one albino on Ifaluk--a woman."

28: Spiro--5 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 144, 174 Ifalik

"The Ifaluk are members of the so-called Micronesian race, which is closely related to the Polynesian. Their features definitely bespeak a racial admixture, but whether this contact was in historic or prehistoric times is still a moot point."

28: Spiro--5 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-~~1~~2
116, 161, 621 Ifalik

"The 252 natives on Ifaluk live on two islands--the island of Felarik with 151 people, and the island of Falalap, with 101. Of the total population, there are 112 males, and 140 females. The islands and the village are identical, so that there is no political name nor boundary. There are two districts on each island, which are distinguished demographically, rather than ecologically. The two districts on Felarik are called Rauau and Felarik, the former being in the southern end of the island, and the latter in the northern half. There are eleven households in Rauau, strung along the main path, which runs parallel to the shore, about twenty-five feet from the beach. Between Rauau and Felarik there is a stretch of uninhabited land, about 200 yards, and then houses appear again. There are eight households, again stretched along the path. The two districts on Falalap, Ievang and Ievol, occupy the southwestern and northern parts of the island respectively, there being six households in the former and four in the latter, and again a stretch of uninhabited land separates them.

These districts are administratively distinct. That is, men of one district will go fishing, without informing the others; or, if seines or fish traps are to be made, they will be made by districts. There is no hard and fast rule dictating this behavior, but it results from the convenience of working with those who live continguously. The districts enjoy a quasi-political status in that each of the five chiefs is recognized as the chief of

28: Spiro--5 [2]
116, 161, 621

(1947-48), 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

at least one of the districts. But this jurisdiction is very tenuous, since the chief of the district does not necessarily live in 'his' district, three of the five chiefs living in Rauau. It is true, however, that a chief will spend much time in his own district, or supervise their work."

28: Spiro--5-6 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 2
116, 361, 342 Ifalik

"Within the district there is no indication of a city planning board, which might have allocated homesteads with an eye to symmetry. The homesteads are scattered throughout the district, some touching the main path, some being much further inland, some being isolated from others, some being contiguous, so that the boundaries of the two touch. But within the court yard of each homestead there is almost monotonous regularity, each having at least one 'sleeping house' (im), a cooking shed (malum), and almost all having a menstrual hut, the architiecture [sic] of each structure being similar, if not identical, to that in the other households. The average house is a one room building about 12 feet at its apex. [6] The frame of the house consists of four upright pillars, stuck into the ground. These are connected by light, supply branches, arranged in wicker-work fashion, to form the walls, which are about four feet in height. The gabled roof is constructed in the same fashion, the entire structure being held together by native rope. The walls are enclosed with coconut branch mats, and the roof with plaited coconut branches, tied to the frame, and superimposed one on the other in tile fashion, so as to repel the rains. The roof overhangs the walls, and reaches within three feet of the ground, protecting the house from the sun, and the dripping water. The house has a number of entrances, usually one at each of the four corners, and two on each side of the house. The entrance which is quite low--one must stoop in order to enter--is a

28: Spiro--5-6 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 361, 342 Ifalik

passageway, not a door. In the case of rain or cold it is covered with a mat, but ordinarily it is open, there being little need for privacy, nor any fear of burglary."

28: Spiro--6
116, 352

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik/5

"The inside of the house is distinguished for its simplicity. The low-slung gable prohibits standing, except at the center of the house, so that after crawling through the passage way, one remains seated on the floor, the latter being comprised of a number of juxtaposed coconut mats. There is no furniture of any kind in the house, the people sitting and sleeping on the floors, and since all eating is done in the open air, there is no need for tables. But though furniture is lacking in the house, it is not bare. The loom is ubiquitous, and stands in a corner of the house, though, being small it occupies little space. Also in a corner is found the sleeping mat, made of pandanus, as well as the Japanese-introduced blankets. In the rafters a congeries of objects can be found--Japanese--introduced mosquito nets, bottles, clothers, rope, tobacco, and other assorted odds and ends. If there is an infant in the house, its cradle hangs from the rafters, a foot above the floor."

28: Spiro--6 [2]
116, 596

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The house is an extended-family dwelling (7) and is occupied therefore by a number of people, though everyone has free range of the house, each biological family occupies a certain section of it, by usage, so that its effects are separate from those of the others, it sleeps in a certain part of the house, and it has a hearth of its own. The hearth is not used for cooking, since all cooking is done in the malum, but it is used to warm cooked food, and to give heat on a cool day."

"7. See below, section on social organization."

28: Spiro--6 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 343 Ifalik

"The malum is constructed like an im except that it has no walls, the absence of which permits the smoke to escape.

The menstrual hut is similar to the im, except in size. It is occupied by the women only for the duration of their menstrual period, and though her children may sleep in the hut with her, it is not required to be as large as the im."

28: Spiro--6 [4]
116, 351

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There is no rule dictating the relative positions of the various structures within the courtyard, so that each presents its own pattern. Nevertheless, the malum is usually at the farthest extremity of the courtyard, near the bush, so as to facilitate the obtaining of brush for the fire."

28: Spiro--6 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 552 Ifalik

"Each homestead is named and the natives, down to the small children, when informing you of their movements, say that they are going to Rapevelu, or Alingliu, not to see Maroligar or Taroman."

28: Spiro--7
116, 345

(1947-48) 1949

P4

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Each district also contains at least one canoe-house, whose structure similar to that of the malum, in that it has no walls, but it is much larger, the average canoe-house being about four times the size of the average house, [sic] The canoe-house not only serves as a protection for the canoes, but it also acts as the men's club-house, a phenomenon, we shall discuss later. Formerly each district had a club-house as well as a canoe-house, but most of them were distroyed by a typhoon in the 1920's and have not been rebuilt. One remains, however, on Falalap, and in structure is that of a house, only larger.

In the district of Rauau stands the fanap, the 'town hall' (literally, the big house), which again is architecturally, a large house."

28: Spiro--7 [2]
116, 361

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Aside from the cluster of settlements which is cleared of all vegetation, (8) the interior of islands are uncleared bush, though there is a net-work of footpaths traversing the two islands."

"8. Trees are cleared because of the danger of falling coconuts. This fact reveals the naivete of the urbanite in the tropics. I often commented to Dr. Burrows when we first arrived on the stupidity of clearing the courtyards of coconut trees, which could protect the houses from the hot rays of the sun. It was not until we had lived on the island for some time that I realized the dangers of the falling coconuts, particularly in a blow."

28: Spiro--7 [3]
116, 137

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Vegetation is dense in the bush, the luxuriant flora compensating for the paucity of fauna."

28: Spiro--7 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 136, 825 Ifalik

"The only indigenous mammals are rats, whose activities are by no means restricted to the bush, however. Aside from the rats, lizards are the only other indigenous animals. There are a number of species of lizards, ranging in size from the very tiny to the giant lizards, of which there are two, both of whom were imported from Yap for the purpose of exterminating the rats. (9) Neither rats nor lizards are eaten, and the natives were repelled by the suggestion."

"9. An interesting sidelight on 'primitive logic' confronts us at this point. The natives distinguish each species of lizards by a separate name, and do not classify them under a generic title. To them they are different kinds of organisms, so that one kind is the object of a genuine phobia, but the others are looked upon with indifference."

1-3

28: Spiro--8
116, 231, 262

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"At present there are only two dogs on Ifaluk, though there were five when we first arrived. The high mortality is a result of a succession of deliberate killings. Children would tease the dogs incessantly, pulling their tails, hitting them, etc.; nor were the adults innocent of such behavior. After exhibiting remarkable patience two of the dogs attacked their tormentors, and were consequently killed. One dog attacked me, for no apparent reason, and the chiefs immediately ordered him killed. In all three cases some of the natives cooked and ate the corpses. Since the two remaining dogs are of opposite sex, it is improbable that the canine population will become extinct."

28: Spiro--8 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 262, 252 Ifalik

"The largest single source of protein food, quite obviously is fish, though the supply is not as abundant as one would expect. Fish are prepared by either men or women, and are invariably cooked by taking them, uncleaned over burning embers. There are no taboos on non-noxious fish, with the exception of sharks, and grown octopus. (10) There is, however, a discriminatory taboo on turtle flesh. Only the males of the lineage of *Uluas*, from whose line descend the paramount chiefs, are permitted to eat of the flesh. Visiting anthropologists, of course, are exempt from this taboo."

"10. Here again, a note on 'primitive logic' might be injected. One afternoon, *Taroman*, one of the chiefs, brought us a baby octopus, which he had caught in the lagoon, offering it to us as a rare delicacy. We decided to prepare it for dinner, but in the interim Dr. Burrows told Tom, our interpreter, that Taroman had given us a *tayo*, the native name for octopus. Tom replied angrily that we should not eat it, and said he would reprimand Taroman for offering us food, that the natives considered unfit. We followed his advice and discarded it. But that evening Tom came to visit us, and ribbed us good-naturedly for our ignorance. Taroman had not given us a *tayo*, he had given us an *xyz*, the latter being a rare delicacy. The point of this being that an adult octopus is considered a different species from a baby, so that *tayo* is one thing, but *xyz* is something entirely different."

28: Spiro--8 [3]
116, 241, 262, 271

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"All other foods are starch in content--coconuts, taro, breadfruit, and bananas. Mention should be made of sugar cane, papaya, pineapple, and lime, all of which were introduced since contact, but which are so scarce as to be non-existent for all practical purposes.

The coconut tree yields three different kinds of food. The ripe coconut is eaten as is, or is grated and mixed into the various puddings that the women prepare. But the green coconut is much more important than the ripe, for it constitutes almost the entire liquid supply of the island. Coral atolls, obviously, have no natural water supply, and the rain water that is stored in pits or in tin garbage cans is usually unfit to drink, with the result that the green coconut water provides the one substitute for drinking water on the atoll."

28: Spiro--8-9 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 262, 273 Ifalik

"The coconut tree is also the source of what is one of the most important foods, from the native point of view, gari. Gari is the sweet sap-like liquid [9] that is obtained by tapping the coconut frond, and permitting it to run into a container, the natives using an empty coconut shell for the purpose. The men collect their gari twice a day, morning and afternoon, in rain or shine. Indeed the collection of the gari is the first activity performed in the morning by the men, and its collection in the afternoon signals the end of the economic day. It is consumed in three forms: when freshly collected, it is a pleasant soft-drink, and is drunk copiously by all the natives, and is fed even to the babies. If allowed to ferment, it has a beer-like taste, and is drunk, at least to my observation, only by the adult men. It is called lis. This fermented form has a definite 'kick', and though I have seen men become quite 'high' by overindulgence, I have never seen a man become intoxicated. Finally, the fresh liquid is used by the women in the preparation of the various puddings they make."

1.2

28: Spiro--9 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 241, 251, 262 Ifalik

"The natives distinguish at least three major species of taro, and they are prepared in a number of ways. Taro plants grow the entire year, so that it is an ubiquitous food.

Breadfruit seems to be the favorite starch food, perhaps because it is not as abundant as the others, since it grows only during the prevailing westerlies, but it is absent during the Trade Wind season. It, too, is prepared in a number of ways. Breadfruit is preserved, by salting cooked breadfruit with water, patting it into balls, each wrapped in a separate leaf, and stored in underground pits. It is eaten during the off-season. I could not get myself to eat any because of the---to me--- extremely offensive odor it emits.

Bananas, though abundant, are not a favorite food, and are fed to the hogs and to visiting anthropologists, though the natives do eat them."

28: Spiro--9 [2]
116, 631, 622

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Ifaluk is one of eight small islands in the Central Carolines, all of whom recognize their political subservience to the island of Yap, and more particularly to the Gagil district on Yap. There seems to be two traditions that account for this subservience as far as Ifaluk is concerned. Dr. Burrows was informed that Ifaluk was originally populated by settlers from Gagil, with the result that Ifaluk looks to Gagil as its mother country. This Yap colonization presumably holds true for the other small islands as well. In discussing religion with the chiefs, I received another tradition, however. The Ifaluk creation story has it that when Autran, the primordial mother goddess, created man, she first created the people of Gagil, then those of the island of Mogmog in the atoll of Ulithi, and then the people of Ifaluk, and finally the people of the other islands. However, the traditions might differ, they both agree that Gagil occupies first rank in the native 'international' hiearchy, followed by Mogmog, with Ifaluk running a close third. It is of importance to note, however, that relative prestige is verbalized in terms of the prestige of the chiefs, rather than in terms of the respective peoples. That is, Yap is 'more high' because the Gagil chief is of preeminent importance, and Mogmog and Ifaluk occupy high positions because of the high positions of their chiefs."

28: Spiro--9-10 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 631, 651, 177 Ifalik

"This recognition of the superiority of Gagil is more than a conceptual scheme; it entails material obligations on the part of the subservient islands. At periodical intervals the various islands bring a tribute to Gagil, called Autinzauwei or autineiwun, though the intervals are not fixed because of the native lack of conceptual temporal categories. Nevertheless, it is probably not too far from wrong to state that at three to four year intervals, Ifaluk pays a sizeable tribute to Gigil. The five chiefs select one of their members to deliver the tribute, and accompanied by an entourage, he makes the trip to Yap, about 400 miles away. The tribute is not fixed, but usually consists of women's skirts [10] (lavalavas), rope, and canoes, which the chiefs levy from the people. In terms of the native economy this tribute is of no negligible value, for, as we shall see, canoes, skirts, and rope, are the only articles the people manufacture, and the time consumed in their manufacture elevates them to objects of real value, of great wealth. A tribute of a few small canoes, and one ocean-going canoe constitutes a real drain on the island's capital. Nevertheless, this tribute is offered voluntarily, without coersion, or military pressure on the part of the Gagil chiefs. (11)"

"11. It is of interest to the student of acculturation that the Yap chiefs accompany the navy station ship on its periodical tours of the islands and collect their tribute during these trips, transporting them on the navy ships. Nonetheless, the local chiefs continue to travel to Yap, since the trip is a kind of pilgrimage, in a quasi-religious sense, and is an occasion for social intercourse, as well."

28: Spiro--10 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 651, 631, 386, 793 Ifalik

"This tribute [WPM: see pp. 9-10] is not entirely unreciprocal, however. Yap supplies Ifaluk with gifts, both of a material and a non-material nature. The material goods consist of turmeric, the native paint, which is highly valued on Ifaluk for both bodily decorations and for painting canoes. They also supply them with bamboo poles for construction purposes, for though bamboo grows on Ifaluk it is not too plentiful, nor is it as good in quality as the Yap bamboo. Finally flint stones are brought from Yap to be used to make fire.

Furthermore, Yap makes a non-material, or spiritual, contribution to Ifaluk. The Gagil priest accompanies his chief, and performs a religious ceremony, whose nature unfortunately, I did not manage to get any information on."

"Viewing the system from the outside, rather than from the inside, or native perspective, it is of importance to note another, sociological contribution, made by this international organization, and that is the maintenance of peace. The possibility of the existence of inter-island war is, of course, an entirely speculative point, though tradition tells us of a number of wars in the past. The facts are, however, that there have been no inter-tribal wars in historical times, and it is not unfair to assume that the mutual subservience of islands to Yap has been a major factor in this history of pacifism, for the Yap chiefs consider all the islands as their own people, and intertribal war would be considered civil war, or treason, by them. And though Gagil might not be able to enforce its demands by physical might, its prestige is great enough so that its expressed disapproval would be sufficient, in most cases, to enforce its will.

That this role of benevolent paternalism is felt quite consciously by the Yap chiefs is indicated by my meeting with Foneg, the paramount chief on Gagil. While waiting on Ifaluk for our ship to embark, Foneg, who had accompanied the ship, approached me, and after exchanging the usual amenities, he said that he hoped that the people on Ifaluk had been friendly and cooperative, and he thanked me for having lived with 'my people.'

This hegemony of Gagil presents an interesting psychological problem, which I can only pose at this point, without attempting to offer an answer. The Ifalukians, of course,

28: Spiro--10-11
116, 631, 721, 643

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

accept Gagil's hegemony as part of the natural scheme of things, no one having ever questioned either its necessity or its desirability. Tribute is offered to a people that is different in language--the two languages are mutually unintelligible--and different, to a considerable extent, in culture. Furthermore, the people's attitude towards Gagil is not one of abject humility. On the contrary, the Ifalukians criticise the Yapese for their uncleanliness and their immorality. The Yapese, say the people, 'stink too much', and they 'talk lie'. Nevertheless they continue to pay their tribute, though they could successfully throw off this yoke."

1-3

28: Spiro--11 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 631, 173, 618 Ifalik

"Though subservient to Gagil, Ifaluk enjoys a position of high prestige vis a vis the other small islands in the Yap district, for, aside from Mogmog, it occupies the highest rung on the political ladder, and it is one they are very jealous of. Again, two variant traditions account for this high position. Ifaluk has great prestige, the chiefs informed me, because of its seniority in creation. On the other hand, Dr. Burrows collected some legends which purport to explain Ifaluk's ascendancey, and which parallel the reason for Yap's ascendance over Ifaluk. These legends tell of Ifaluk having had wars with the outlying islands, each war for a different cause, in the course of which Ifaluk took the the occasion to massacre the entire populations of the various islands, and a man and woman from each clan were chosen to settle on the depopulated islands. As a result the population and culture of the islands are derived from Ifaluk, so that Ifaluk is the mother country to the other islands.

The historicity of these stories, obviously, can not be validated. It is true, however, that the peoples on the various islands speak identical languages, and, as far as we could check, have quite similar, if not identical, cultures. Particularly important is the identity of social organization, so that the same clans are found on all the islands, and inter-island marriage, which is not infrequent, is governed by the same clan exogamy as intra-island."

28: Spiro--11 [2]
116, 186, 554

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The people are very proud and jealous of their prestige, would often remind me of it. One evening, for example, while talking with a young married man usually ungiven to bravado of any kind, he bragged of Ifaluk superiority, and of the deferential treatment accorded to an Ifalukian who visited another island.

This consciousness of rank extends to their relationship with the outside world as well. As a matter of fact, I first became aware of the importance of rank by an incident that betrayed the people's concern with maintaining their high position in the eyes of the Americans. One evening, while talking with a number of men about what we intended to do during our stay, I mentioned that other islands were being studied by other anthropologists. The men responded as a man: that means that they will have to cooperate with us to the fullest, lest the other anthropologists receive better cooperation, submit superior reports, and then Ifaluk would be 'more down.' The men immediately told Tom, our interpreter, to pass this information to the chiefs, and the next day a special meeting of the entire island was convened by the chiefs, and the people instructed to carry out all our demands."

28: Spiro--11 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 721 Ifalik

"As indicated above the inter-island relationships are marked by continous peace, the only wars of which the natives have knowledge, being the wars described in the legends referred to above, and they occurred 'musuwe, musuwe', ('before, before.')."

28: Spiro--11-13 [WPM: Manuscript (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 484, 574 omits p. 12] Ifalik

"The natives are excellent seamen, so that inter-island travel is frequent. These voyages, though undertaken primarily for recreation pure and simple, serve important social and economic functions. All these islands are small, geographically and demographically, and the opportunity to travel, to see different landscapes and different faces, is eminently desired. [13] At the same time, most people have friends and/or relatives on other islands, and they are most desirous of visiting with them. Furthermore, visiting travelors bring back reports of their travels to their fellows, informing them of all major as well as minor events--deaths, marriages, petty gossip, etc."

28: Spiro--13 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-~~1~~2
116, 431 Ifalik

"But these trips [WPM: see pp. 12-13] also further international trade, which is important, though not vital for the native economy. Ifaluk, as we shall see, has no division of labor, each household being a self-sufficient economic unit. Yet, the island as a whole practices a certain division of labor *vis a vis* the other islands, and their surpluses are exchanged. The two commodities which it obtains from other islands are tobacco and women's shell belts, the former being obtained from Faraulep and the latter from Eauripik, while it exports lavalavas and rope. This trade does not involve any financial transactions, since none of the islands have money economies; nor even barter, in the strict sense of the word, since there is no bargaining nor any concept of fixed value, either intrinsically in the exchanged commodities or in terms of some third object. Hence the only rubric under which this trade falls is gift exchange, though this concept is really an ethnographic classification, rather than a native conceptualizaion. That is, a native traveling to another island, will return with tobacco or belts, obtained usually from friends or relatives, given freely as a gift. When his donor visits Ifaluk, he will give him rope or lavalavs, presumably as a gift, without any formal consideration of the value of the relative exchange. Apparently both parties to the exchange are usually satisfied, because no one could tell me of any case of discord arising from an unsatisfactory exchange.

28: Spiro--13
116, 431

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Gifts are not only given to the individual traveler, but they are given to the chiefs, as well, both by individuals, and by chiefs."

28: Spiro--7-8 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 231 Ifalik

"The other animals on Ifaluk were introduced by the Japanese. These are the pigs, dogs, and chickens. The pigs are few, and their flesh--they are invariably roasted--is considered a rare delicacy. The hogs are tethered to trees, though the small pigs are allowed to roam in the courtyard, and are looked upon as pets, being freely handled and fondled by the natives, to the point of being suckled at times by the women.

The chickens, too, are scarce, though not as scarce as the hogs. Chickens are allowed to run free, and consequently are not entirely domesticated. It is quite an amusing sight to watch a chicken 'hunt'. A gang of boys will chase a chicken for a considerable length of time with sticks and stones until they finally catch one. Indeed to watch them stalking a chicken, one would think [8] that they were hunting big game. Because of their scarcity chickens are eaten infrequently, though many natives are not particularly fond of them. Eggs are eaten when they are found, and since the natives do not know the chickens" roosting places, they are not found as often as would be desired."

"Persons visiting other islands will stay at the homes of close relatives, or of clan members, where they will sleep and eat. They may stay as long as they like, though all but one of the visitors to Ifaluk during our stay remained no more than a week, their departure being determined by favorable winds and currents. [14] One boy from Woleae whose sister was married to a native of Ifaluk remained for six months. Since the islands fall into groups, a canoe will usually visit a number of islands on one voyage. A departing canoe will receive a send-off by a number of people, who fill it with coconuts and food for its journey.

The upshot of this discussion, and the point I wish to stress, is the high degree of cooperation and mutual aid obtaining between the islands. The people are deeply interested in the other islands and express genuine concern about their wellbeing. This is best illustrated by the aid Ifaluk extended to Woleae during World War II. The Japanese established a navy base on Woleae, which is approximately 30 miles from Ifaluk, preempted the food supply, and left the natives to their own ingenuity. When Ifaluk learned of their desperate condition, the Ifaluk chiefs extended the hospitality of their islands to the entire population of Woleae, about 400 strong, and despatched Ifaluk canoes to transport the Woleaneans. The lived on Ifaluk for the duration of the war, without payment of any kind. When asked to comment on this generosity, Ifalukins remark that the Woleanens

28: Spiro--13-14 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 574, 476, 177 Ifalik

are 'all same brothers this place', and this was just a brotherly gesture, not any unusual display of generosity or sacrifice."

28: Spiro--14 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622 Ifalik

"The domestic political life on Ifaluk is characterized by hereditary chieftanship, of which there are five. Since Ifaluk is a matrillineal society, a chief inherits his office from his mother's brother, and transmits it to his sister's son. The five chiefs are formally ranged in a descending hierarchy, being designated as 'chief number one, number two, etc.' but in actual practice it is next to impossible to discover any functional differences between them, either in terms of responsibility or of privilege. The number of chiefs (tamon), and the lineages from which chiefs are chosen was already ordained by Autran, when she created the people of Ifaluk. (1)"

"1. The clans and lineages from which the chiefs are chosen, with the names of the current chiefs, in descending order of rank, are:

Wolptau: Kovalu--Ulepi
Maroligar: Sauvelarik--Somat
Wolpaitik: Sauvelarik--Falitre
Paluelimar: Mangaulevar--Linoa (Palueimar died shortly before our departure from Ifaluk. His household was abandoned because of much illness, the lineage split up, and I do not know who his ultimate successor will be.)"
Taroman: Rapevelu--Valevelu

28: Spiro--15-17
116, 622

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-15
Ifalik

"Though informality characterizes Ifaluk culture, some attempt is made to give some formal training to the future chief. A chief will select his most likely successor, when he is in his early teens, at the latest, and will instruct him in the duties and responsibilities of chieftanship. Maroligar's successor, for example, was Uvelimun, and every afternoon I would see him taking him into the bush where they would remain for about an hour or two.

The nature of his instruction is a secret, and I obtained no information concerning it. One of the things he learns is the body of myth and legend, because the chiefs are the custodians of the cultural traditions. Aside from the formal instruction, the boy receives informal instruction from the women of his lineage, his maternal grandmother, aunts, as well as his mother. This instruction consists of general admonitions regarding his most important roles. 'Suppose I die, you savvy talk. You like my talk, you talk good that people, (then) find that place. Some man come, you look out good. That man go back, he say: "Very fine that Chief." If a place bad, he say: "Very bad that chief." You all same papa and mamma for people who come here. You give them chow. You no enough that chow, you tell people they bring to you, you give to that people from another place.'

The young boy has impressed upon him, then, his responsibilities, both with respect to his own people, and to visitors. The chief is the patriarch of his people, responsible for their behavior, so that their character and behavior reflects on him. Notice, too, the stress on the opinions of the stranger. Be a good chief, so that the visitor will tell his people of your ability and competence. Also to be emphasized is the stress laid on gift giving, particularly of food.

This lesson is learned well. The chiefs constantly offered their services to us, supplied us with a regular supply of food and coconuts. It was quite apparent from the day we arrived that we were to be the special wards of the chiefs.

Though the chiefs' authority extends over the entire island, each chief has official charge over a particular district, and is responsible for its welfare. Unlike the feeling of friendly rivalry and consciousness of prestige that characterized inter-island interraction, inter-district interraction reveals little, if any, such characteristic.

The responsibilities of the chiefs are much more than political, in our understanding of that term. They are the leaders of Ifaluk, par excellence, in all aspects of culture, not only the narrowly political. This follows from the fact that Ifaluk, like other primitive societies does not conceptualize its culture into different categories, each serving its own end. There is no term, for example, for religion, or politics, or economics, etc., all of these categories being western concepts that we shall use for convenience of

28: Spiro--15-17 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 622 Ifalik

analysis, but which do not exist in the minds of the natives themselves. The very title of this chapter, [16] political organization, is a travesty on native thought. The tamon are the leaders of their people, which means that all social activities are performed under their leadership, and/or with their sanction. All activity is performed becasue the chiefs endorse it, either explicitly or implicitly. But their leadership, or direction, is unobtrusive, and neither their individual personalities, nor their institutionalized behavior corresponds to that of the western politician or statesman. The chiefs, if I may be permitted an analogy are not only the starters that get the motor of the car running, but they are lubrication, that keeps the motor running without undue friction, the accelerator, the brakes. The chiefs serve, albeit unconsciously, as the guarantors of this culture, as a going concern, without whom it would collapse. And what makes their influence so remarkable is their lack of any mark of office that we are so accustomed to in the west. They possess no external symbol of power nor any punitive power to enforce their 'demands.' I deliberately enclose the term, demands, in quotes because this too, would be a term alien to native mentality. The chiefs do not legislate for the people, nor do they give commands to the people, but rather, they express the will of the people; they articulate the demands of the people. This culture exhibits a real benevolent paternalism. It is the chiefs who know what is best for the people, and their orders are conceived as the objective articulation of the subjectively felt needs of the society. This is sophisticated, but I think, accurate description of the native view of the chiefs derived from many conversations with many natives. And this, I am sure, is the conception the chiefs have of themselves. Never did I see any indication of self-seeking, of quest for power or prestige. If anything, just the opposite is the case. The chiefs are retiring and selfless, seeking neither honor nor glory. Though, theoretically, their power is absolute, I saw not a single instance of abuse of this power, in the form of demanding of property or gifts or women or privileges. Their leadership is viewed as a vocation, in the Protestant sense of the term, that is, as a service to the society, a moral duty that must be fulfilled. And defection from this ideal would result in great shame. That this conception of themselves is felt by them quite consciously is born out objectively by the Bavelais Moral Ideology Test and by the Stewart Emotional Response Test. The responses to these tests by the five chiefs were almost unanimously alike, and quite different from the responses of the people. All showed a profound personal identification with their people, so that their feelings of happiness or sadness, shame or anger, were determined by the conditions or feelings of their people. If their people were wellfed or were healthy, then they were happy. But if their people were hungry or ill, or if they quarreled or were not industrious, then they were sad. Their consciousness of leadership responsibilities emerged quite clearly from these tests, as well. The activities that were praisworthy or blameworthy were not personal activities, but rather communal ones. If

28: Spiro--15-17 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-5
~~116~~, 622 Ifalik

they performed their duties, saw to it that the people cleaned their yards, planted taro, made rope, etc., they would be praised, but any derelictions in this regard would evoke blame. This observation, in conjunction with their response to those things that cause them shame, namely, to be found wanting in communal responsibilities, not ordering the people to go fishing, or to prepare food, etc., substantiates two further points: they conceive of their office as the fulfillment of responsibilities, and their responsibilities involve the expression of the will of the poeple, not the giving of orders that may or may not coincide with the latter's desires. It serves to emphasize the fact that the people recognize the necessity of engaging in certain social or economic activities, but wait for the chiefs to take the initiative in instigating them, so that if the latter do not do so, they are not done, with the result that the chiefs are to be blamed. These observations are of far reaching significance for Ifaluk personality development, and cultural psychology, points which we shall [17] examine later. Here, I only wish to point out that despite the absence of any of the accoutrement that we associate with democracy, with, on the contrary, all the external signs of despotism, we have as complete a democracy as is possible. The great responsibilities of the chiefs, combined with a concommitant lack of privilege, leaves little room for surprise over the fact that not one young man expressed a desire to be chief. They all informed me, in great earnest, that they would not like to be chiefs, and their reasons, to a man, were that the responsibilities were too great."

28: Spiro--17 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians 1.2
116, 622, 226 Ifalik

"With these remarks in mind, we can now turn to the actual functions of the chiefs. In the first place the entire economic life of Ifaluk is under their direction and supervision. Communal fishing expeditions are never undertaken without their direction or consent. A man may go fishing any time he desires, but only the chiefs are empowered to order the entire village to go fishing. Since fish is a vital part of the native diet, it is important that these trips be successful, so that the chiefs must be well-acquainted with the habits, movements, and habitat of the various species of fish, so as not to order the men on a wild goose hunt. Once the fishing begins, certain men, who are recognized as expert fishermen direct the work, and since two of the chiefs are so recognized, their share in this responsibility is large, but they function not as chiefs, but as fishing experts.

All communally-owned capital goods are manufactured at the orders of the chiefs. Fishing traps and seins, which are vital to the Ifaluk economy are made only when the chiefs order them to be made. Now, it must be realized that every man is fully aware of the importance of replenishing these objects, and yet no one will undertake to do so, or take the initiative in getting others to do so, unless ordered by the chiefs."

28: Spiro--17 [2]
116, 622, 653, 681

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"All public works are undertaken at the chiefs' behests. The building of overwater heads, at the request of the navy; the removal of trash from the courtyards, the cleaning of the bush and public paths, the repair of a canoe-house, the initiative for all these is the responsibility of the chiefs, without whose orders they would not be done. .

But his responsibilities do not end with public works or communal economics. Should a private house need repair, or a courtyard be dirty, should a man be indolent or a woman not take care of her taro patch, the chiefs will step in, and order this situation be rectified. Again, this is not viewed as a curtailment of freedom, or as an encroachment on individual rights, for this is part of the chief's responsibilities, the neglect of which, would lead to censure on the part of his people.

Other economic activities, though not initiated by the chiefs, require their permission All construction that requires the cooperation of a number of men, such as a house or an ocean-going canoe cannot be undertaken without first receiving the consent of the chiefs."

28: Spiro--17-18 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 574, 622, 157 Ifalik

"But the chiefs have responsibilities other than economic. The chiefs are the official hosts of any traveler to the island. If by chance, the visitor has no kinsmen on Ifaluk, or if he be a dignitary, such as a chief or an American, it is the responsibility of the chief to make his stay as pleasant as possible. Thus, if people gave us gifts of food, they did so as a gesture of friendship, but the chiefs took upon themselves the responsibility of caring for our wants and needs, as part of their duties as chiefs. Not a day would pass when we were not brought food or drinking coconuts by at least one of them, and they were assiduous in [18] dropping in on us to inquire about our welfare, and to ask whether we needed or wanted anything.Of course they, as individuals,were interested in our welfare, but there was little doubt that they were acting as chiefs, as representatives of their people, lest our needs not be satisfied and then Ifaluk would be 'more down.' All the chiefs responded in the Stewart Emotional Response Test, that one of the things that would cause them great shame would be a comment by a chief of another atoll to the effect that the Ifaluk chief was a poor host."

28: Spiro--18
116, 622, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The chiefs also act as the depositories of the cultural traditions. Myths and legends are almost unknown to the people, but they are transmitted by the chiefs to their successors. This is also true of religious and other cultural values. If one questions a native about any aspect of religion, morality, social and cultural values, he will tell you what he knows, and they say, that for a complete and thorough account you should speak to the chiefs, because they are the ones who really know these things.

Finally, the chiefs are the moral guides of the culture. Ifaluk religion and ethics are not connected as they are in western religion, so that the chiefs, rather than the priest-shaman are charged with the perpetuation of the mores."

28: Spiro--18 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 681, 622, 182, 554 Ifalik

"As in most primitive societies shame and social censureship are the greatest deterrants to immorality. This is particularly true on Ifaluk, where there are no supernatural sanctions. But the ultimate sanctions for moral behavior are the chiefs. It is their approval or disapproval that motivates much of the Ifalukian interpersonal relationships. And this role is felt very consciously by both the chiefs and the people. When discussing the subject of chieftanship, they informed me, that: 'Chief all same pappa this place.... If no chief, all same canoe have no people, canoe turn around. Place, too, by'n by turn, around, people fight. Pappa talk to boy, maybe boy no like (i. e., won't obey), for only little bit afraid. But all people afraid chief. Chief work--talk. Chief no talk to people, tell them what they do, all same ship break.'

This is as accurate description of Ifaluk chieftanship as one could want. Besides this very interesting 'ship of state' idea, this statement displays a genuine insight into the real significance of the chiefs in this culture. That the statement reflects not only the chiefs conception of themselves, but also the conception the people have of them, is brought out clearly in the Stewart Emotional Response and Moral Ideology tests, in which the people maintain that they are afraid to be indolent, to steal, or to fight lest they incur the wrath of the chiefs; and conversely, that they are good, generous, etc., because this pleases the chiefs.

28: Spiro--18 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 681, 622, 182, 554 Ifalik

This role of being the ultimate sanctioners of the cultural values is very interesting in view of their lack of any punitive power. There are neither police nor prisons on Ifaluk to enforce the mores or punish violations of them. It is true that a murderer or incorrigible thief can be punished by the chiefs by banishment and/or confiscation of property, but such punitive powers must rest on the consent of the people, since they have no physical power to enforce these punishments. What is even more significant is the fact that the mere disapproval of some behavior by the chiefs acts as a sufficient deterrent, and that their approval is one of the strongest motivations for culturally approved behavior."

28: Spiro--18-19
116, 182, 554, 622

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Further reflection on the nature of Ifaluk society makes us pause even longer over this phenomenon. In theocratic societies, or in societies in which the ruler enjoys divine or magical rights or protection, it is understandable that his demands should be respected. But no such concept of supernatural power or protection obtains in Ifaluk. The chief is a man among men, who happens, it is true, to descend [19] from a particular lineage. Add to this the objective fact of the smallness of the island, in which the child knows everyone from the moment that he begins to perceive and distinguish objects, and every one knows every one else as intimately as one person can know another. These people grow up together, they plan and work together and learn very soon the virtues and vices, abilities and foibles of their fellows. Now the chiefs grow up as part of this process. In huge empires the prince lives apart from the commoners, he grows to adulthood in the court, where few people can know him, so that he can maintain the aura of magical greatness. But on Ifaluk this is impossible. The chief is remembered by practically all of the people, as that young foolish kid, who would never obey his parents, or as my friend with whom I participated in a number of pranks, who is a poor fisherman, or inept carpenter. And suddenly he is thrust into the position of authority, at which time he not only receives the respect of his fellows, but becomes the ultimate sanction of their good behavior. This is indeed a perplexing question, and one to which we shall return in our discussion of Ifaluk personality and psychology.

The people accept the chief's authority without question. One afternoon I asked a group of men why they obeyed the chiefs. This was obviously a very perplexing question for them. Apparently it had never been articulated before. Obedience to the chiefs is just accepted as part of the natural order of things. After stating the question in a number of different ways, I could get only the stock answer: 'We don't know. Before, before, all the same now.' That is, this is part of our tradition, and inheritance from the past, and we accept it. As we continued the discussion, other points were made, however. 'Suppose no have chief, all people fool. (If) chief see people very bad, he tell them "You no make that. No my talk I talk to you, talk before, talk my house, my place." If another man come, see no chief, very bad.'

What is said in this statement is that the chiefs are the ultimate guarantors of the culture, and its values. If there were no chiefs, the people would be 'fools', or 'make bad', that is, they would violate the mores, and the culture would disintegrate. The presence of the chiefs prevents the people from such violation. For, 'If people talk, no somebody afraid. Chief talk, all people afraid.' That is, the people accept the authority of the chiefs, and abide by their reprimands if they commit a wrong. But a reprimand from another would have little effect, because they fear only the chiefs."

28: Spiro--19-20 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-12
116, 622, 182, 115, 554 Ifalik

"When asked why the chiefs elicit this obedience, and no one else, the answer is immediate--because their lineages are 'more high.' This superiority of descent is accepted implicitly. It is not the person is personally superior, has greater ability or knowledge, but that he is descended from the 'royal family.' The obedience, then, is to the status, not the individual. When I asked, for example, how they felt about obeying a young chief, whom they had ordered around when he was a boy, and who now is their superior, though they probably have greater skills and knowledge than he, they expressed surprise. Why not? Isn't he a member of the lineage of chiefs?

No person could remember one instance of disobedience of a chief. 'Men afraid that chief. (If) one man no like talk for chief, very bad man. All people no like. Why he no like talk for chief?'

I might illustrate this point by one incident in which we were involved. One morning Tom, our interpreter, came to us saying that he would not work with us for a few days since the canoe, that he was building with the assistance of some other man, was not being completed rapidly enough because the other men were not indiligent [sic] in their work, and that he would have to devote more time to the work. Later in the day, he came to me, saying that the chiefs had heard of his not working with [20] us and were angry with him. I told him that I wanted him to complete his work as soon as possible and that

28: Spiro--19-20 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 622, 182, 115, 554 Ifalik

both Dr. Burrows and I would rather he worked on his canoe for a few days. But he looked at me very contritely, and in a very pathetic voice, he answered that the chiefs are 'too angry at me', and therefore he was afraid to work on his canoe because he was afraid of the chiefs. Now this is from a man who had lived in Manilla for four years, who was descended from a chiefly lineage himself, and was next in line for a chieftanship, and who often decried the chiefs to me, impugning their abilities, and calling them 'fool fellows' because they had not had the experiences that he had had."

28: Spiro--20 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians 1-2
116, 623, 123 Ifalik

"The chiefs assemble the people for public meetings whenever they wish to announce a new policy or some new event. Before the people are assembled, however, the chiefs meet alone to decide among themselves what actions or decisions are to be taken. And though the chiefs are ranked in a descending heirarchy, the decision is always arrived at by a concensus rather than by any one prevailing over the others. From the nature of their discussions, which we were always permitted to attend, it seems that a majority decision is not sufficient, so that they continue to discuss the matter until they can all agree on the course to be taken. At times this requires a long time. For example, Dr. Burrows and I asked Tom if we might rent a canoe for the duration of our stay. He said that he would speak to the chiefs, since a matter of that kind would require their consideration. The chiefs had a special meeting, requiring three hours to decide what objectively looked like a very simple matter. The decision, incidentally, was to give us a canoe for the duration of our stay, but with the stipulation that we confine our canoeing to the lagoon, lest we go into the ocean, and capsize, in which case the chiefs would feel 'very bad.' It is also of interest parenthetically, in terms of the Ifaluk emphasis on status, that after informing us of the chiefs' decision, Tom told us that when we return to America we should inform the people and the chief that the Ifalukians were very good to us, and had given us a canoe, and 'then, Ifaluk more high.'"

28: Spiro--20 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 623, 421 Ifalik

"After making their decisions and deciding on an agenda the chiefs let it be known that a public meeting will be held the next day, or in two days. On the morning of the designated day, the chiefs assemble in the canoe-house next to the Fanap, the public meeting house. (1)"

"1. The entire plot of land, holding the canoe-house and the fanap, is called Atelu, and quasi-sacred property, which belongs to the chiefs, and which people seldom frequent: The chiefs had us pitch our tent on this land."

28: Spiro--20-23 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-8
116, 623 Ifalik

"Taroman, the fifth ranking chief then announces the meeting by blowing on a conk shell, which hangs in the fanap, and is used only for that purpose. Time is relatively unimportant on Ifaluk, and the people show no great alacrity in assembling. A delay of one to two hours between the sounding of the conk and the assembling of the people is by no means unusual. When the people begin to assemble the chiefs enter the fanap, where they sit near the front pillar. (1) There are no [21] special seating places at these meetings, any one sitting where he chooses, some in the fanap, some along the sides or

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"1. To stand in the presence of another is an insult, this being one of the first things an Ifaluk child is taught. Not even the chiefs will stand in the presence of the people, even when addressing them. The American Military Government officers respected this folkway, as did the anthropologists, which contrasted very favorably, in the eyes of the natives, with the Japanese practice of talking to the natives while standing on a table."

in front of it. The one invariable practice in seating arrangement, however, is the complete separation of the sexes, under no circumstances do men and women sit together.

Since there is little formality in Ifaluk, the meetings are conducted in a fairly haphazard manner, any one of the five chiefs making the opening speech. The chiefs, as we shall note later, are always informal and their behavior at the meetings is no exception some reclining or actually lying flat while the meeting is in progress.

Before noting the general features of these meetings, it might be well to describe some of the individual meetings in terms of subjects discussed as this will give not only the form of the meetings, but also the values with which the culture is concerned.

There were four meetings held during our seven month stay. The first was called on the occasion of our arrival, and we did not attend as we were in the midst of setting up camp. This was on July 29, and its purpose was to discuss our arrival, the manner in which people were to respond to us, and to appoint a boy to assist us in our camp, the latter being done on their own initiative, without a request from us.

The second meeting, on August 14, was occasioned by my mentioning to the men that other anthropologists were making studies of other islands. The chiefs informed the people that they were to follow implicitly the recommendations made by the Military

Government officers and the Navy doctors, about clearing the rubbish around their houses, and building over-water heads (1). Furthermore, they must cooperate with us, and do whatever we might request. There was little discussion by the people, but their response to the recommendations was immediate, for at the close of the meeting the men began to erect over-water heads, and the women were already cleaning their courtyards as I walked through the village. The admonition to cooperate with us had already been

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"1. This is an example of navy unwarranted generalization. On Yap the natives defecate on the ground, with the result that Yap is plagued with diseases of all kinds. The Navy has encouraged the natives to build over-water heads to preclude the polluting of the ground, and thus preventing disease. When they arrived on Ifaluk, they assumed that the Ifaluk pattern was similar to Yap's, and suggested to the chiefs that over-water heads be erected. This suggestion, however, was entirely unnecessary since the Ifaluk natives almost invariably use the lagoon for their ablutions, abhoring the sight and smell of faeces."

practiced before the meeting had been called.

The next meeting was called on September 4, and it seems that I was indirectly responsible for its occasion. On September 2 our first (and last) station ship arrived, and after it left I informed the chiefs that the officers had commented on the cleanliness of the island (1), and had said that except for a few spots, Ifaluk was the neatest island they had seen. The chiefs were very pleased by this compliment, [22] and decided to call a meeting to instruct the people to better their efforts in cleanliness.

At this meeting, which lasted about one hour, Wolptau and Taroman, the first and fifth ranking chiefs, respectively, bore the lion's share of the talking, with Paluelimar, third in rank, making a minor contribution, and Maroligar and Wolpatitik not uttering a word. Both chiefs and people were very serious, the former speaking long, loudly and

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"1. This was later born out by my own observations, for on our way home we visited most islands in the Yap district, and most of them revealed rubbish and litter strewn about, whereas Ifaluk was always tidy and neat."

impassionately. The people listened in silence, and the impression was that of a father admonishing his children. The chiefs began by telling the people that I had informed the officers that the village was always clean and neat, and that they would have to confirm this report in deed, by beginning a general cleanup. They then reported to the favorite theme of all meetings--the admonition not to engage in 'bad talk', and conversely, to speak only 'good talk.' This simple message was repeated by all three speakers numerous times, and in many variations.

Quite significant was the attention devoted to the women, for despite the fact that women shoulder most of the work, it was they who were told that they were not to be indolent, but must work, must prepare food and make lavalavs. The men, too, were warned to exercise greater diligence, but not to the same degree as the women.

The people remained silent throughout, neither questioning their chiefs nor addressing remarks to them. At the conclusion, Wolptau distributed tobacco and American cigarettes to all the people assembled. The distribution of tobacco is an invariable, unqualifiedly universal feature of Ifaluk social life, it being distributed after every political meeting, religious ceremony, communal work. It is to be noted, also, that the cigarettes that Commander Kenney, the Commanding officer on Yap, had given to the chiefs as personal gifts, were not kept by them, but were given to their people. This distribution followed the pattern of all such distributions--the chief would call the name of each district, and any adult male would respond for his district, obtain the tobacco from the chiefs, and then pass it among his fellows--male and female alike. But the cigarettes, Wolptau distributed personally, and as he approached the women, who of course were seated apart from the men, he spoke to them, warning them not to defecate on the ground, but to retire to the lagoon, and if this were too difficult, they were to use a basket for this purpose and then dispose of the facaes in the lagoon. This speech, delivered with a broad grin on his face, evoked wide laughter, and when he repeated it the second time, the entire people burst into a spontaneous cheer. This little incident is very significant for an understanding of Ifaluk chieftanship, and gives real insight into the intimate relationship that obtains between chief and people. Some of the psychological implications of this relationship will be dealt with in another connection, but here I wish to point out the psychological meaninglessness of a bold ethnographic statement to the effect that a society is governed by a chief or chiefs, for this rubric covers a multiplicity of political realities from the formal, West African potentate to the informal, fatherlike person, just described.

It may be remarked here that the response of the people to the clean-up order was immediate. The following day, the entire population had retired to the bush to carry out their instructions.

28: Spiro--20-23 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-7
116, 623 Ifalik

The fourth and last public meeting we witnessed was held on October 23. The chiefs had been asking us when we expected the next ship, and we had told them that one should arrive any day, so they called this meeting to inform the people that a ship was due, and that they should prepare for its arrival by another clean-up. Again, as at the previous meeting, Maroligar and Wolpaitik, did no talking at all, Taroman doing most of the speaking, but joined by Wolptau and Paluelimar. Taroman began by warning the people to do no wrong, special emphasis being placed on stealing and lying. He warned the women in particular not to abscond with taro from another woman's taro patch. To be noted in this connection is the paradox of warning people [23] against a transgression of which they are never guilty, for, as we shall see, robbery or thievery never occurs in this culture.

When Taroman was finished, Wolptau took over. He told the men that should any of them go fishing they were to bring their catch to the chiefs for distribution so that the old and the sick would be provided for. This is the customary procedure, but Wolptau saw fit to remind the men of it, since some of the men had been violating this custom. This demonstrates how violations of custom are handled. No individual is rebuked, or singled out, but a general rule of conduct is enunciated, which apparently is sufficient to ensure conformity.

28: Spiro--20-23 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-8
116, 623 Ifalik

He then turned to the women, warning them against working in the taro patches while menstruating. Again we see the same method of dealing with violations of taboos. The taboo of not entering the taro patch, on supernatural punishment of crop extinction, is known to every one. His necessity of mentioning it at the meeting means that Wolptau had become aware of the violation of the taboo, and dealt with it by this general, admonition, rather than by reprimanding the individual culprit or culprits.

He then turned to the real reason for calling the meeting--he announced the pending arrival of the ship, and ordered the people to begin another general clean-up.

Paluelimar spoke at the conclusion of Wolptau's address. He announced that a dance was to be held in the near future, and that the young men should begin to prepare for it. (this was at our request, for we hadinformed the chiefs of our desire to witness a dance.). He repeated Wolptau's order about the clean-up, and then said that Dr. Burrows and I were to be treated as chiefs, that the people were to do whatever we asked of them, as we were concerned with their welfare.

At the completion of his speech, the chiefs again distributed tobacco, and the meeting broke up informally.

It is discernable from these sketches that the pattern of the meetings is the same in all. But aside from the similarities in the content of the meetings, there are also similarities in the formal aspects, that should be noted."

28: Spiro--23 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 623, 461 Ifalik

"Both men and women come to the meetings supplied with work-materials, which keeps them busy during the entire meeting. The men bring their coconut sennet, to be twisted into rope; and the women bring flowers, out of which they make leis, or banana bark fibres, which they make into thread. Throughout the meeting, men and women are busily engaged in their work. The chiefs, too, bring their sennet, and continue to make their rope, even when addressing the people. Though this occured at all the meetings, it was not until the last one that this procedure presented itself to me as a problem. If the people were very diligent and frugal with their time, one could understand this practice without difficulty. But the fact is, as we shall see, the people can, and do, sit around for an entire day, without engaging in a single productive activity. Why, then, this burst of industry at the meetings? When I queried him on this point, Tom answered that a man would be ashamed if he were to be seen just sitting at the meeting without doing anything, for it was not right to be seen doing nothing. In other words, the fact thay they loaf at other times is not important, but at a public meeting no one wishes to be accused of indolence. And yet, plausible, as this interpretation might be on the surface, it is far from satisfying. Why is a man ashamed to be seen without work at a meeting, but not at any other time? Surely, just the opposite should be true. The meetings are very important, and as such, should they not hold the people's undivided attention? At this point we can only indicate the problem, but we shall take it up again when we consider the psychological correlates of Ifaluk culture."

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28: Spiro--24
116, 623, 561

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Another fairly constant factor at the meetings is the contrast between the attitudes of the older and younger people. Whereas the former take the meetings very seriously, with one exception--that of the priest--doctor--the younger men seemed little interested in the proceedings. For example, at one of the meetings, the young men were very slow in arriving, and did not sit in or around the *fanap*, but sat in the canoe house quite a distance from the *fanap*. Taroman rebuked them for this, and ordered them into the *fanap*, and they were quite slow in obeying his directions."

28: Spiro--24 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 623 Ifalik

"Like everything else in Ifaluk, the meetings have little, if any, plan. The chiefs may decide to call a meeting a week in advance of its actual occurence, but they make no attempt to plan a definite agenda, or decide who is to speak. It seems that they speak whatever comes to mind, are prodded by the other chiefs, while speaking, frequently turn to the other chiefs for suggestions, and often debate among themselves as to whom is to do the talking, each one passing the buck to the others."

28: Spiro--24 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 623, 537, 184 Ifalik

"The speeches of the chiefs shows a definite pattern of delivery. They talk for a certain time, and then lapse into complete silence for an extended period, the only sound being the swishing of the coconut fibre that the men are making into rope. This interval of silence, theoretically, gives the people an opportunity to express themselves, or to take issue with the chiefs if they desire. I say, theoretically, because at none of the meetings we attended did any one make use of this opportunity."

28: Spiro--24-25 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 622, 184, 554 Ifalik

"As I have pointed out above, informality characterizes the relationship between chiefs and people, there being no overt symbol that might distinguish one from the other to a stranger. The chiefs assume the same economic obligations that the other men have. They participate in communal clean-ups, fishing expeditions, building repairs, and all other work, working with the other men, with no special dispensations of any kind.

Socially, they receive no special recognitions. They are addressed by name, as any other man. When sitting in the canoe-house they occupy no special seat of honor, nor is their arrival or departure signaled by special courtesy. In conversation their opinions are given no greater weight than those of a commoner.' Nor are they treated with any special respect or deference. For example, Dr. Burrows administered anti-dysentary shots to five men when we first arrived, for a period of five days, one of the men being Wolptau. On some days, the men would come at least an hour after the arrival of Wolptau (he was on time, they were late), and he waited till the others came; he not complaining, they not apologizing for having kept him waiting.

Nor do the chiefs attempt to keep themselves aloof from the people. This cameraderie is carried to the extent of Maroligar, the second ranking chief, playing cards with the young men and small boys, and being kidded for making a foolish move.

But despite this informality, when they function ex cathedra, their word is law, and obedience is immediate. When they sit in the canoe-house adjacent to the fanap, conducting a meeting, no one will enter uninvited, or else will enter through the rear, so as not to intrude upon them in an obtrusive fashion. Furthermore, the entire plot of ground, Atelu, referred to above, is the property of the chiefs, and symolizes the chiefly office (or the government, to use an abstraction foreign to native modes of thinking), so that the village path that traverses the island skirts this section, and unless a person is going to Atelu itself, he will take this circumscribed route. Furthermore, when a person passes Atelu, he pays his respect by bending his entire trunk his hands clasped behind his back. This motor behavior becomes entirely automatic, as it is already inculcated even in the very young children.

The chiefs, also, receive special seats of honor at all religious ceremonies, and no ceremony begins in their absence. Furthermore, mourning at the death of a chief [25] is more extensive than for that of a commoner. On the other hand, as far as I could determine, no special rite commemorates a chief's taking office. His successor merely assumes his responsibilities, and begins to function with no ceremony of coronation."

28: Spiro--25
116, 622, 651

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-12
Ifalik

"The material benefits accruing to the chiefs are minimal. There are informal benefits, of course. After a fishing haul, the chiefs will usually receive the largest fish, though even this is not an invariable proceedure. Of course, visiting travelers often bring gifts for the chiefs, and under both American and Japanese rule the chiefs receive special gifts of cigarettes or paint.

But as far as I could ascertain there are only two institutionalized material rewards. (17)

The first of these benefits is the peremptory right to all turtles. When a person catches a turtle, it is brought to the Fanewang, the canoe-house belonging to the Uelepi lineage, from which stems the first-ranking chiefs, and there it is butchered by the chief, and becomes the sole possession of Uelepi. He distributes some amongst the other chiefs, and to other commoners if he desires.

"17. This, despite the fact that theoretically, as we shall see later, all property is owned by the chiefs, and as such, they could levy any duty or tribute they desired."

28: Spiro--25 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 622, 651 Ifalik

The only tribute, or taxes, they receive, is the annual gift of breadfruit and toddy that is presented to the second-ranking chief, of the Somat lineage. He is the chief of the district of Felarik, and twice a year, in the rainy and dry seasons respectively, the men of Felarik bring him _en masse_ bottles of toddy. However this is really a symbolic recognition of his authority, rather than a payment or a levy, because after receiving the toddy, he then redistributes it among the men, retaining very little for himself. I did not witness the offering of breadfruit since it did not occur during our stay, and I omitted to inquire whether it, too, is redistributed, but my guess would be that it is. Thus, even this formal, institutionalized, tribute does not remain in the chief's treasury, but reverts to the people. This redistribution, should be kept in mind for our later discussions, because this role of the chiefs as the givers or redistributors of food and tobacco plays a significant role in Ifaluk culture, having important psychological significance."

28: Spiro--25 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 554, 157 Ifalik

"The most important function served by the chiefs we may conclude, is that of cultural or ethical fathers. It is to the chiefs that the people look for the source of their basic values and for their sanctions and validations. The chiefs, recognize this role, and behave towards their people in a paternal manner. This interpretation comes out very beautifully in the following incidental statement by Tom. I had been collecting folklore from the chiefs, and after finishing the mythology, they told me some stories about some 'fool fellows', Ifalukians, who had responded to certain situations in a very foolish manner. The chiefs told me that I was to keep these stories secret, since the people did not know them, and they preferred that they not be told. I asked them the reason for this secrecy, and they answered that the people would laugh at these foolish acts, and would be ashamed that their own people had committed such stupidities. Tom then added that the chiefs would not laugh or be ashamed, since they are 'all same pappa this place,' and thus would treat them as a parent might treat some ontoward act of his child."

28: Spiro--26 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 621, 174 Ifalik 13

"Ifaluk social organization is simple, compared to other Pacific peoples. The two islands of Felarik and Falalap have eight matrilineal and strictly exogamous clans, (ailang). The clans are not localized, and vary considerably in numerical strength, as is shown in the following table.

District	Kovalu	Sauvelarik	Mangau Ievar	Rape velu	Sauwel	Kailan gailuk	Bwol	Kailangai luelea	Total
Felarik	4	8	21	0	8	10	0	0	51
Rauau	29	17	11	13	16	13	0	0	99
Falalap	19	23	24	6	4	2	13	3	94
Totals	52	48	56	19	28	25	13	3	224

The origin of the clans is accounted for by the same two traditions mentioned in connection with the origin of chieftanship. One tradition has it that these clans constituted the original colonizers from Yap. The other maintains that the clans were institued by Autran when she created the people on Ifaluk."

28: Spiro--26 [2]
~~116~~, 621, 582, 835

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"When a native is asked for the purpose of the clan, his answer is, to control marriage. One may not marry a member of one's own clan. This taboo on clan endogamous marriage is very stringent, and the complete geneologies reveal no case of its violation. However, a very interesting problem arises in this connection that unfortunately, I did not investigate. Theoretically, the clan controls not only marriage, but all sexual relationships, it being taboo for a person to have sexual relations within his own clan. Yet, my conversations with the young men, of whom at least two were sexually active, revealed that, with the exception of one person, they were ignorant of their clan affiliations. That is, they were all very aware of the existence of the clans, and they also knew of the exogamous rule, but they did not know to which clan they belonged. Neither their parents nor any one else had informed them of their clan memberships, and the one person who did possess this information, discovered it by sheer accident. When the question was posed to them, they were all eager to know their clan affiliations, and asked me to tell them, but none had spontaneously asked their parents for this information, saying that their parents would tell them when they were about to be married, and if they will have chosen a woman within their clan, they would have to forfeit their claim to her. This implies, of course, that these young men take sweethearts from within their clan with impunity. Thus, it would seem to appear that clan exogamy is concerned wholly with the cultural phenomenon of marriage, rather than with the biological fact of intercourse."

28: Spiro--26 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
~~116,~~ 621, 574, 431 Ifalik

"Besides the control of marriage, the clans possess only one other important function--the channeling of hospitality, in inter-island relationships. That is, a native visiting another island will resort to a member of his own clan for food, housing, and trade. This trade is really gift exchange, for the natives do not use money, nor do they barter, in the sense of exchanging value for equal value. The visiting native will bring gifts, and will receive some gift in return. The term gift, is used advisedly because that is how the natives conceptualise this exchange."

28: Spiro--26-27 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 601, 596 Ifalik

"All members of a clan view themselves as relatives, but though their kinship terminology is classificatory, the kin terms do not extend to the entire clan, but are restricted in use, as we shall see.

Intermediate between the clan and the lineage, in size, is the extended [27] family (airo) which serves no particular function, nor is it clearly conceptualised in native thought. The airo is a bilateral, not a unilateral kin grouping as the clan and the lineage are, including relatives in both the mother's and father's lines. It is merely a classificatory term, used much as the term family, is used in our own culture to designate certain individuals, who are related in both the maternal and paternal line."

28: Spiro--27
116, 596

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"To say that the airo serves no function, is not strictly accurate. It serves no institutionaled [sic] function, but there are patterns of interaction of a purely informal nature that characterize the relationships of airo members. For example, though the natives are very generous with food, to the extent that any person in the vicinity of another house will be asked to partake of available food, an airo member will be treated even more generously, and often will be offered food to take home with him. Furthermore, a man constructing a canoe can anticipate the assistance of his airo member, not because this assistance is mandatory, but again, because of the closer degree of intimacy existing between them."

28: Spiro--27 [2]
116, 596, 602, 835

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1 3
Ifalik

"The existence of the *airo* indicates that Ifaluk kinship system is not entirely unilateral, or conversely, from a unilateral to a bilateral system. This, of course, is conjecture, and without historical evidence, cannot be documented. We can conclude, however, that the Ifaluk system is intermediate between the two extremes. . . This is demonstrated much more convincingly by marriage regulations. As pointed out above, clan exogamy is strict and universal, but clan endogamy does not exhaust the category of tabooed spouses. For aside from the parent-child taboo (which, of course, in the case of father--daughter is not a function of clan exogamy), a person may not marry a member of his *airo*. Though the natives do not express this taboo in these terms, as they do in the case of the clans, they do point out that a man may not marry either his father's sisters' children, or his father's brothers' children, neither of whom are clan members, but an *airo*. This inclusion of the *airo* members within the cultural definition of incest finds expression in other forms of sexual avoidance taboos. Though sexual references in conversation are taboo in mixed company, they are permitted in the presence of children. Tom, for example, would often joke sexually with the young girls, but never with a child in his *airo*, since they are 'all same my boy.' After administering a Rorschach to the daughter of his brother, I told him to tell her that she had a 'very fine stomach and a very fine head', and that when she had children they would too. He smiled, praised her 'stomach' and 'head', but did not repeat the prediction about her children. When I asked him, he explained that since she was his brother's, she was like his own children with whom he could not discuss sexual matters."

28: Spiro--27 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 596, 601 Ifalik

"This importance of airo is also displayed in kinship terminology, in which the father's brothers have the same term as the father, my father's sisters have the same term as my mother, and the children of my father's sisters father's brothers, and mother's brothers all have the same nomenclature as my own siblings and mother's sisters' children, who are of the same lineage and clan."

28: Spiro--27-28
116, 613

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"More important than either the clan or the *airo* is the matrilineal lineage, known alternatively as *Lebwutae* ('my place'), or as *Bwotae* or *Aramatae* ('my people'), according to whether the reference is to the homestead or to the people. The lineage, by definition, includes a matrilineal descent group that is related by descent from one woman. Now, since marriage is matrilocal, with some exceptions, and since every homestead is named, this group is well defined. It includes all persons born of the women of a particular homestead, say that of *Uelepi*. When a man says that he is going to his '*Lebwutae*', or that he does not commit some act because he would be shamed by his '*Aramatae*', he refers, not to the house in which he lives, but to his maternal home, his matrilineal lineage. [28]

The clan, as we have seen, is not localized, persons from any clan living in all districts. Given the existence of matrilocality, the lineage is not localised either, but it does enjoy a certain localization, in that all the women of the lineage, as well as the unmarried males, inhabit the homestead, and the men, though scattered, do have a focal, geographic, point of reference, in that the homestead in which they were born, remains in the lineage in perpetuity, and thus serves as an integrating factor, in spacial terms. Thus, though my *aramatae* are scattered, my *lebwutae* remains fixed."

28: Spiro--28 (1947-48) 1949 1-3 Woleaians
116, 613 Ifalik

"Reflection, as well as empirical evidence, reveals the relative instability of the lineage, as compared to the clan. The eight clans are fixed, and cannot be increased in number, though they can be decreased by the extinction of one or more clans. This seems to be the future fate of Kailangailuela, of which there are but three members, two of whom are women past their menopause. Normally, however, clan extinction is rare.

The number of lineages, on the other hand, may increase or decrease. Decrease, a priori, is more frequent in lineages than in clans, because of the small number of persons within any lineage. It seems, however, that the greater proportion of change in the number of lineages is by increase, which results from the setting up of new households. For a number of reasons, a person may break off from a household and construct a new house. At first this house is viewed as an extension of the parental homestead. After a time, however, this house assumes a special name, though it still looks to the original home as its source. But after the elapse of a few generations, this 'splinter group' becomes a homestead in its own right, and thereby becomes a new lineage group as well.

For example, Nesangogara married Taroman, and did not remain in her lineage house, but set up a new household, known as Warigin. Now, Warigin is actually in the lineage property of Taroman's lineage, Valevelu, but this new house now has its own name, the married daughters and their children live with their parents, and a new lineage has unquestionably been created."

28: Spiro--28 [2]
116, 613

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The lineage is the most important group in Ifaluk. It regulates property, its members cooperate in economic functions, and it is a recognized religious grouping. These functions of the lineage will be dealt with under these separate categories.

The attachment of the person to his lineage and its house and district is revealed not only in terms of personal feelings, but in certain important activities. The men do most of their work and gossiping in the canoe-houses. Should a man marry a woman from another district, he usually returns daily to the canoe-house of his own district, not the one in whose district he is now living. In fishing expeditions, which are undertaken by districts, a man often fishes with the men of his lineage district rather than with those with whom he is at present living. Finally, in the dances, the men dance with men of their lineage district. This constant return to their own district indicates that the men feel a greater sense of affinity with the people with whom they were raised, but it also indicates the attachment to the lineage house in which he spent his formative years."

28: Spiro--28 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 592 Ifalik

"Smaller than the lineage, though in part comprising it, is the household, for which there seems to be no native name. The household lives in the lineage house, and is an extended family, which includes the elder woman or women of the lineage (sisters), their husbands, unmarried sons and daughters, married daughters, the latters' husbands and children. Thus, all but the men who have married in, are members of the lineage. The household is the basic economic unit in the Ifaluk social structure, for despite other economic functions or obligations that the members of the household may have elsewhere, the household is the basic production and consumption unit, as we shall see when we discuss the economic organization."

1-3

28: Spiro--29
116, 601

(1947-[illegible]) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The Ifaluk kinship system is classificatory, though as noted above its terms are not as inclusive as are those in other types of classificatory systems. It should also be remembered that the kinship terms are terms of reference, rather than of address. Every individual is addressed by his proper name, including parents. The following kinship terms are given in the first person possessive singular. Ego's generation: *Bwiziwis*, refers to my biological siblings, of the same sex, and *Mongyal* to my biological siblings of opposite sex, as well as my mother's sister's children, mother's brothers' children, and father's sisters' and brothers' children. Again it may be pointed out here that only the mother's sisters children are ego's lineage and clan members, yet the same term applies to the other categories mentioned here; showing the impprtance of the *airo*. First ascending generation: *Silei*, refers to my mother, my mother's sisters, and my father's sisters. The same comment made for *Bwizinis* applies equally here."

28: Spiro--29 [2]
116, 601

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Tamae, refers to my father my father's brothers, and my mother's sisters' husbands.

Malelapae, refers to my mother's brothers, and is the only non-classificatory term.

Second ascending generation: Sinisin, refers to any one my mother calls, mother. This technique of reduplication extends to any ascending generation, for example, Sinisinisin, Sinisinisinisn, referring to the third and forth ascending generations, respectively. Literally, of course, these terms translate, my mother's mother, my mother's mother's mother, etc. The same principle applies for the other grandparents, and I shall not repeat this example in the other cases, having mentioned it here.

Sinitamae, refers to any one whom my father calls, mother.

Temaesin, refers to any one whom my mother calls father.

Temaetemae, refers to any one whom my father calls, father.

First descending generation: Lau, refers to my children, my brothers' children, and my wife's sisters' children.

Fatuei, refers to my sisters' children. It is the complement of Malelapae, and like it, obviously, is not classificatory. Second descending generation: Launau, refers to all the children of the people whom I call son or daughter. As in the reduplication noted above, this can be expanded indefinitely to cover as many generations as necessary."

28: Spiro--29 [3]
116, 601

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This grouping together of a number of relatives under the same nomenclature does not imply at all, that the natives do not distinguish between them. This distinction is most emphatically made, between the biological mother, say, or sister, and the classificatory mother or sister. When a person refers to his father or mother in conversation, he invariably means biological father or mother, unless he specifically designates the classificatory relative. Even the very young children are accustomed to make this distinction. For example, when I administered the children's drawings I would ask the names of their parents and of their siblings. They invariably gave the names of their biological parents and siblings, except in the case of adopted children, in which there was no consistency, some naming them as siblings, and some not."

28: Spiro--29-30
116, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though parents and children distinguish between biological and classificatory children and parents, it is true that the relationship between these relatives is closer than the relationship between 'strangers.' This is to be expected given the [30] existence of multiple family dwellings, where all adults function as parents to all the children. A woman treats her sisters' children with as much care and love as she will her own, though there is little question that the degree of love and intimacy that obtains [sic] between biological parent and child is greater than that between persons so classified culturally. As in our own culture, I think it fair to say that if a complete stranger were to enter an Ifaluk house, and observe the interpersonal relationships, it would take him little time to distinguish the individual family units within the extended family household."

28: Spiro--30 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians 1·2
116, 604, 593, 178 Ifalik

"An interesting problem arises with respect to the mother's brother. This relationship also seems to indicate the intermediate position of the Ifaluk social organization, without indicating whether or not it is in a transitional stage. That is, we have a matrilineal clan in which the mother's brother and the child belong to the same clan, whereas the father belongs to a different clan from his children. Furthermore, the father is classified with the father's brothers and the mother's sisters' husbands, the latter of which are fairly remote relatives, whereas the mother's brother is given an entirely different term, unique and unclassified. Yet, the avunculate does not exist here, though there are certain forms of interaction that are reminiscent of the avunculate, which in the light of our question concerning a transition in kinship system, may be 'survivials' from a full blown system."

28: Spiro--30 [2]
116, 613, 604, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In the first place, every homestead, which is really every lineage, has its tamon, its household chief, who is the eldest male of the house. Though descent is matrilineal, it is this eldest male, not female, who is the titular head of the lineage, who manages its property, settles intramural disputes, if any should arise, and in general is the overseer of its welfare. His visits to his Lebwutae, his parental home, is frequent, since his toddy is collected from the coconut trees which he inherits from his mother's grove, and he collects his toddy twice a day, so that he usually visits his homestead at least once, if not twice, a day. This frequenting of lineage house, that is, of his sisters and their children, is also characteristic of the other men of the lineage, for they, too, return to the district of their parental home to collect their toddy. And though, it is only the eldest male who is known as tamon, the others have an influence and an intimacy of relationship in the household that strangers do not have."

28: Spiro--30-31
116, 593, 613, 604

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"But the intimacy of relationship consists of more than daily visit. There are certain mutual obligations, that obtain between brother and sister, which are not rigidly institutionalized, but which function as if they were. A man's sister, for example, prepares food and lavalavas for her brother. That is, when she prepares taro, say, she will bring a dish to her brother, or will offer it to him when he visits the lineage house. Of course, this practice is related to the rules of inheritance, because the taro patches are held in perpetuity in the lineage, but the women work the patches and prepare and consume the taro in their homes, that is, the matrilineal homestead. Legally, however, it is apparent that the men have as much preemtive right in the taro as the women, and the sister's preparation of food for her brother, therefore, is, from this point of view, an indication of that right. However, it involves more than this legal obligation, because this would only entail the offering of the raw taro, and not the cooking or preparation.

The sister also makes lavalavas for her brother. These are not for his wife's consumption, but are used by him as gifts to be presented to his clan members when he visits other islands.

In return the brother will bring gifts of fish to his sister, if he goes fishing by himself, and will bring her presents upon returning from a visit to another atoll.

The great intimacy of brother and sister is also revealed in case of illness. [31] It is the sister who is most attentive to the needs of her sick brother. If his illness lingers on he returns to his lineage house, where his sisters care for him, devoting as much time and care as his wife.

This relationship, it is apparent, is far from the reciprocity that characterizes Trobrian society, for example, and the same is true of the relationship between the man and his sister's children. The real influence in the child's life, despite their different clan and lineage affiliations is his father, and his mother's sisters' husbands, and the role of the mother's brother is minimal, though not entirely absent, for the latter does assume certain economic responsibilities for him. A young man, constructing a canoe can expect to receive the assistance of his mother's brother, and conversely a man can expect the same assistance from his sister's son. But this reciprocity is not uniquely characteristic of these relatives, for a man expects and receives the same cooperation from his sister's husband, his wife's brother, his father, and his own sons.

The same is true of certain avoidance relationships between these groups of relatives. For example, it is strictly taboo to mention any sexual term, even indirectly, in the presence of one's sister's children. But this same taboo applies to your own children, as well as to your brother's children."

28: Spiro--31 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 597 Ifalik

"An obtrusive, but integral part of the entire fabric of kinship, one that is well-nigh universal in the Pacific, is the institution of adoption. (aevan) The incidence of adoption is fairly high, there being 32 aevams in Ifaluk, out of 81 children. There are basically two reasons for adoption. If the couple is childless, they wish to have a baby, because 'only they chow.' That is, being without children, they eat their meals alone, which is to say, they are lonesome. Secondly, a couple with only one child may desire a child of another sex, a girl to work the taro patch, a boy to do the men's work. If they decide to adopt a child they go to a pregnant woman of either the husband's or wife's clan, never to a non-clan member, and inform her that they would like to adopt her baby. If the woman has no other children, she may refuse the request, but if she has children, she does not, because 'all people and chief very angry at her,' though she may not be compelled to part from her child. However, the natives know of no cases of refusal, for the woman always cooperates, as she says, 'I give to you, bout (because) I am very very sorry to you.' The adopting parents give no gift or any symbolic offering to the parents of the child.

The mother of the infant, of course, feeds it. When she leaves the birth-hut, she is accompanied by the foster-mother, who spends much time in the home of her adopted

28: Spiro--31 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 597 Ifalik

son. At the end of the three month period, during which time the mother and infant are confined to the house, the baby is taken to the home of its foster parents by its mother, both returning home in the evening. When the infant can walk it remains permanently in the home of its foster parents."

28: Spiro--31-32 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 597 Ifalik

"The aevam is treated as one's own child and the patterns of interaction, both formal and informal are identical for him as for a biological child. The child, however, is by no means abandoned by its real parents, the relationship being a close one in both cases. Since the atoll is small, it is possible for an adopted child to see its real parents daily. Actually, then, adoption means that the child has four parents, instead of two, and two houses instead of one. Talimedja, for example, joked about his having two families, so that if he were hungry he could eat in either house, if he were dissatisfied with the fare in one. The same is true of other activities. The aevam may sleep in either house, may expect to receive shelter, protection, security from either one. [32]

This dual interactional pattern applies to his entire life. He belongs to two kinship groups, his 'natural' one and his foster one. This means that he has not only the incest taboos of his biological siblings, but also those of his foster siblings. Despite his belonging to two kin groups, he inherits only from his natural group, not his foster group."

1-2

28: Spiro--32 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 597 Ifalik

"Though the cultural or institutionalised pattern of interaction between aevam and foster duplicates that of biological child-parent, the quality of the relationship displays variations. Some foster children are much more intimate with their foster parents than with their biological parents. But, on the other hand, there are instances in which the converse is true. Talimedja, a boy in his middle teens, almost always referred to his biological mother when he spoke of his mother. When I asked him to take me to his home, he took me to the home of his biological mother. On the other hand, Morolivok, a boy in his late teens, always referred to his foster parents as his parents, and he and his foster brother were inseparable. But Tom, who is his foster-father, definitely makes a distinction between him and his biological son, Alemwal. When Tom speaks of 'my son', he invariably means Alemwal. This distinction comes out in behavior as well. When I administered a battery of tests to Morolivok, Tom asked him to sit on the ground besides us. When Alemwal came to take the tests, Tom insisted that he sit with us on the mat. These subtle manifestations, I am sure, are unintentional, and unconscious, and if he were asked, Tom would say that he loved both sons equally."

28: Spiro--32 [2]
116, 575, 561

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are no sodalities in Ifaluk, no groupings of a voluntary nature, that is. Professional, secret, or religious societies do not exist. Neither are there age grades. It is true that there are five categories into which all ages are classified, but they are highly nebulous and fluid, and are, by no means, organized into groups with definite social responsibilities and privileges."

28: Spiro--33
116, 462

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1
Ifalik

"The Ifaluk economy does not fit into any of the classical 'stages,' at least not in a pure form, for this is a fishing-agricultural society, both aspects being of equal importance. However, as one might expect in a population of 250 people, there is no division of labor, though there is specialization. This statement, however must be qualified for there is a sexual division of labor, though the division is not a sharp one, except in one or two matters. Nor is the labor of one sex taboo to the other, or provoke a shame-reaction on the part of one performing the economic function of the opposite sex. For example, women do engage in reef fishing at low tide, though this is normally men's work, and men will assist their wives in the taro patches, though this is women's work. Furthermore, in heavy construction work the men do not scruple to call upon the assistance of the women at certain stages in the work. By and large, however, sexual division of labor is defined, each sex making its own unique contribution to the productive aspect of the economy. This dual division is indispensable to the maintenance of any household, for each household is a self-sufficient economic unit, so that the dereliction of either sex with respect to his productive role, would result in economic collapse. It is little wonder that economic proficiency is one of the first criteria demanded of a prospective spouse.

The men are responsible for all construction work-canoes, houses, canoe-houses--

the manufacture of rope, seines, fish-traps; the tending of the breadfruit and coconut trees, as well as the planting of coconut sprouts, collection of toddy, and the picking of coconuts, and fishing. The women are responsible for the cooking; the weaving of skirts and loin cloths; the manufacture of thatch, mats, baskets, and canoe-sails; the preparation of sennet for the making of rope and the planting and care of the taro patches.

Both men and women are responsible for private and public cleaning. Since Dr. Burrows has made a special study of Ifaluk technology, my discussion of the productive process will neglect this aspect, except where necessary for clarity, and will be concerned primarily with the cultural or institutional character of these activites."

28: Spiro--33 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians 2-3
116, 476, 156 Ifalik

"The first thing that strikes the observer about Ifaluk production is its cooperative nature, this being true not only in the manufacture of objects which are obviously for public consumption, but even for those which are for private use, and which are owned privately. Furthermore, even those activities whose very nature requires individual effort, are performed not in private, but in the company of others, each person doing the same work. Gregariousness is characteristic of this society, and has important psychological implications, since it is a compulsive gregariousness stemming from a deep-seated need to be with people, to avoid isolation."

28: Spiro--33 [3]
116, 462, 283, 556

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The one ubiquitous activity engaged in by the men is the making of rope. Rope is indispensable for it is the universal fastener. In the absence of nails every object that requires the adhesion of parts requires the use of rope. But rope has other uses as well. One of the important objects used in Ifaluk's inter-atoll trade is rope. Rope forms part of the tribute that Ifaluk pays to Yap. And finally, when a person dies, his corpse is wrapped in an almost fantastically copius amount of rope. Rope, functions both as a crucial element in the subsistence economy, as well as an important factor in the prestige economy, since it is a sign of wealth. A man with little rope is looked down upon. Every man, then, desires to accumulate as much rope as possible, and spends the major part of his productive energies in its manufacture."

28: Spiro--33-34 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 592, 345, 283 Ifalik

"Rope is made in the canoe-houses, these most important social and economic structures. Objectively viewed, there is little, if any reason, why the canoe-house should be the locale of its manufacture. It would be just as convenient to manufacture it in the home, except that there seems to be an aversion for doing any work in the house. For that matter the house is actually used for sleeping and conversational purposes only, since the cooking is done in the *malum*, and the people eat [34] outside, except in the case of rain. So that despite the desire for rope, a man will never make it in his house, though his evenings could very well be taken up by its manufacture. There is no taboo on the performance of economic activity in the house; it just is not so used."

28: Spiro--34 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-12
116, 345, 283, 461, 156 Ifalik

"A factor of major importance in the use of the canoe-house for the manufacture of rope is its function as a social as well as economic center. Since the destruction of the men's club houses in the last typhoon the canoe-houses have taken over their function, so that the men now congregate in the canoe-houses as formerly they congregated in the club-houses. Now this fact is important for an understanding of Ifaluk culture. Though there is a word for work in the Ifaluk vocabulary (engan), it refers to discrete and specific forms of labor, and is not used as a generic term, as it is in our own culture, as when a man says he is 'going to work.' No one has his special work to perform each day, from which he rests at the end of the day or the end of the week. So, too, there is neither a term nor a concept corresponding to our word economics. Our conceptualization of life activities into economic, social, recreational, etc, does not hold for the Ifaluk. This means that the various kinds of work (engan) that are performed are recognised as responses to certain basic survival needs, but the concept of work as vocation or as moral career that this term has assumed in western society, at least in its Puritan and Calvinist tradition, is completely foreign to the natives, and indeed would be inexplicable to them. Theoretical considerations aside, this means that a man's day is his own, to do with what he desires, and among the activities he engages in, are certain activities of economic importance. A man goes to his club-house in the morning

28: Spiro--34
116, 345, 283, 461, 156

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

because there he will be with the other men, where he can discuss the events of the day, engage someone in a conversation, and at the same time, make rope, if he so desires. But there is nothing compulsive about his rope-making, or for that matter, about any economic activity. There is no concept of an economic obligation, 'this ought to be done', except insofar as it relates to basic biological needs, and then 'ought' has no place at all, for it is obvious that if a man wishes to eat, he must fish etc."

28: Spiro--34 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 283 Ifalik

"The manufacture of rope is simple, (1) and readily lends itself to conversation and conviviality. Rope is made from the coconut sennet. The coconut husk is allowed to seep in stagnant ponds--this is the women's task--until the fibres are loose, after which the women take it from the pond, separate the fibres, beat them soft with a wooden board, remove dirt and other grime, and then let them dry in the sun. The men store the sennet in baskets, until such time as they wish to use it. They manufacture the rope, by twisting the individual fibres, which they draw with great agility from a bunch held in the crook of their thigh and leg, while sitting, into cord, twisting it on the thigh. This is the basic process from which ropes of any size can be made, from thin cord, to very thick rope that could well be used as mooring rope, on a ship. The completed rope is either taken home, where it hangs from the rafters of the house, or is allowed to remain in the canoe-house, each man having his own peg, with the assurance that no one will abscond with it."

"1. Simple, if you know how. I tried a number of times, but with little success, for the twisting of the fibres requires an agility, and a motor set, that only comes from practice."

28: Spiro--34-35 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 222, 476 Ifalik

"Like the making of rope, the collection of toddy is, intrinsically, an individual process--only one man can climb a tree at one time. Yet this, too is done in a semi-communal fashion. The toddy is collected twice a day, and is collected at fairly regular times, so that a number of young men within a district collect their toddy [35] simultaneously, proceeding together to their individual groves, and returning together. This practice is even more marked in the afternoon than in the morning, so that we facetiously referred to this spectacle as the 'toddy parade', because the sight of eight or ten men walking single or double file through the village, was reminiscent of an American parade."

1-5

28: Spiro--35
116, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The tending of the trees is the only individual phenomenon in the economy. The men gather the coconut sprouts in rows in their groves, and at certain seasons of the year, plant them. The trimming of the coconut trees is performed when they climb a tree to collect toddy or coconuts, and the picking of the breadfruit is determined by the desire for it.

The other forms of work except for canoes and houses are genuinely cooperative, in that the commencement of the work is decided by the chiefs, is performed by the men, each with a special task directed towards the common end, and the products of their labor are shared equally."

28: Spiro--35 [2]
116, 358, 476, 462

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a canoe-house needs repair, the chief of the district will inform the men, and on the scheduled day, they will assemble for the task. If it is a relatively minor task, only the men of the district will cooperate in the work, but if it is a major one, all the men of the island will assist, and at times, many from the other island will participate. In other public works, the thatching of a roof, or the clearing of the bush, the women assist as well, and where women participate there is a complete separation of the sexes, the men confined to one section, the women to another."

28: Spiro--35 [3]
116, 462, 342, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a roof is to be thatched, it is the task of the men to cut off the coconut branches from which the thatch is to be made. Both men and women bring the branches to the canoe-house, and then the women weave the branches into thatch, after which the men climb onto the roofs to do the thatching. Here, too, there is a division of labor according to age, for generally speaking, it is the younger men who climb the roof to put on the thatch, while the older men stand below and pass the thatch to those standing on the roof."

28: Spiro--35 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 476, 358 Ifalik

"The participation of the women is not always restricted to the lighter work. Where man-power is required, as in the raising of the entire frame of the canoe-house, which is accomplished by a complicated lever principle, the women work with the men in pulling and straining on the ropes which lift the frame."

28: Spiro--35 [5]
116, 462, 476, 351

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In public clearing the men and women work separately, though there is little division of labor except that the women seem to bear the brunt of the labor. The entire population of a district, including the young children, clean the wooded sections of the island immediately behind the village, or the cleared ground in the area of the canoe-houses. The actual interior of the island, of course, is not cleaned or cleared. In this work the people work in small groups, some clearing up, some digging pits for the disposal of the refuse, others carrying the brush to the sea, where it is burned on the beach or allowed to float away. The women and men work separately, each small work-gang, being comprised of one sex only. As mentioned above the women seem to bear the brunt of the work, for they have the arduous job of digging the pits and of doing the hand weeding, while the men worked on the heavier grasses, with their long knives. Furthermore, the men complete their work much earlier than the women, returning to their homes, while leaving the women to do the final odds and ends."

28: Spiro--35-36
116, 476, 527

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are a number of institutional, as well as non-institutional characteristics of these communal undertakings. All are completed with a feast, prepared by the women, at which the men sit about in small groups by the structure on which they had been working. Furthermore, when the men assemble for their work, they bring coconuts which are deposited in a common store, it becoming the sole function of certain [36] of the men to husk them. At the completion of the work, the chiefs distribute the coconuts among the men who receive them with great pleasure. This distribution of food, at other times of tobacco at communal gatherings raises a perplexing problem: Why should coconuts or tobacco, which all people possess in abundance, be distributed by the chiefs at the completion of these affairs, and why should a handful of tobacco or 4 coconuts be received with such obvious pleasure by the people, particularly when as in this case, they bring the coconuts themselves, and they are now merely being redistributed? We shall have occasion to discuss this point in some detail in our chapter on psychology."

28: Spiro--36
116, 358, 784

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"When doing major construction work, there are a number of taboos and rites which are practiced. Food is taboo until the completion of the job, so that the meal is very welcome when it comes. If the job requires more than a day for its completion food may be eaten only at the end of the day's work, and then the men must resume their fast until the completion of the next day's work. (2) Women and children are not permitted near the canoe-house during these major operations, and those living adjacent to it must

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"2. This fasting illustrates, I believe the psychology of all sacrifice--fasting of course being a sacrifice, the sacrifice of food. You sacrifice a lesser good in order to obtain a greater good. Conversely, you accept a lesser evil in order to avoid a greater evil. In this case you sacrifice food in order to retain life and/or limb, and there is little question but that abstinence from food is a great sacrifice in this culture. Lest the reader ask how the native might lose life or limb, I should point out that the beams and pillars of the canoe-houses are huge, and if a person were to be struck by one he might very well be injured or killed."

remain in their houses. This is sharply contrasted with the other repair jobs in which children are very much in evidence, shouting, playing, laughing, and getting in the way. Furthermore, on these major jobs, the men wear young, white coconut branch strips about their arms and their ankles, which serves as talismen, and protect them from falling beams and other forms of potential injury."

28: Spiro--36 [2]
116, 784, 358, 158, 264

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians 23
Ifalik

"If a man is engaged in constructing something new, he may not participate in the repair of an old object. For example, since Tom was building a new canoe he could not participate in the repair of his own canoe house when it needed rethatching. Should a person violate the taboo, he becomes ill. (3)

The day after the job is completed, the chiefs may tell the men to go fishing, while the women prepare food, and then a feast is held, each household bringing his own food and fish, but all eating together. A characteristic of these feasts, and of other feasts following a religious rite is the complete absence of conversation during the meal. The people eat uninterruptedly, no one speaking to any one, let alone holding a conversation."

"3. This taboo on the mixing of opposites is a symptom found quite widely in obsessive compulsive neurotics."

28: Spiro--36[3]
116, 476, 181, 571

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are, however, other characteristics of communal labor, of a non-institutional character. The first thing that strikes the observer is the cammeraderie and esprit de corps that pervades the entire assembly. The people are cheerful and gay, and a festive spirit seems to hang over the activity. This spirit seems to be infectuous, everyone participating in the general gaiety. And when the men and women tug together on a rope, the spirit is almost hilarious. Observing the hoisting of a beam, I recorded in my field notes of December 10, that 'the men and women now hoist the beam, and there is a tremendous conglomeration of screaming, shouting, yelling, and laughing.'"

28: Spiro--37 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 533, 181, 571 Ifalik

"This spirit of good-fellowship characterizes even the minor cooperative work, such as the carrying of a canoe from the beach into the canoe-house. They seem to view it as fun, as a lark. This convivial spirit is accompanied by another, institutionalized pattern. That is, all heaving, pulling, and carrying jobs, are performed by the accompaniment and rhythm of a shanty. One man takes the leadership and shouts a line of the shanty in a sing-song voice, and then the others repeat the line after him, while they heave at the rope, or pull the canoe. The shanty expedites the work, by offering the men a rhythm by which to work, as well as by providing amusement for their work."

28: Spiro--37 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 571, 476, 622, 463 Ifalik

"Another characteristic of cooperative work is the seeming absence of direction or plan. No one has a definite assignment, but fits himself in where he thinks he is needed. To make matters worse, no one individual assumes over-all direction, with the result that everyone shouts orders to everyone else, and men are seen jumping from one station to another, many with the same object in mind. Now when as many as 36 men are working on one canoe, the result is utter chaos and confusion, at least to the observer. But somehow, the end result of this turmoil and absence of plan, is a unified activity, with the end-in-view accomplished, and, what is even more important, with no injuries.

This lack of plan or leadership is patent not only in the actual undertaking itself, but in the absence of foresight in its preparation. Almost invariably something that should have been prepared in advance is remembered all too late in the midst of an intricate engineering job, which precipitates much confusion, until someone finally corrects it. One would think that the men would agree upon some one individual to act as the leader of the work gang, but no one suggests this, and no one will voluntarily take over this job, with the result that there are a number of leaders.

This lack of leadership, I hasten to add, applies only to the actual process of work, not to the general undertaking. There are specialists in construction, trained in engineering principles, who plan the repair that is to be done, and who direct the operations.

28: Spiro--37 [2]
116, 571, 476, 622, 463

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

It is only in the particularised aspects of the total job, such as hoisting a beam, or lowering a keel that this chaos reigns."

28: Spiro--37[3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 342 Ifalik

"The kind of cooperative work we have been discussing is cooperation whose results redound to the benefit of the entire society, or at least to the district. But this pattern of cooperation operates even where there is no direct return to the participants. When a man wishes to thatch the roof of his own house, the young men of his district offer their services with no hesition. Of course, they receive a gift of tobacco or food upon completion of the job, but this gift is a mere token of appreciation, rather than payment for work done. However, this cooperation is always reciprocal, because the man who is assisted by his neighbors in one instance will assist in another instance. Then there are occasions in which one district assists another. For example in one of the clean-ups, the district of Rauau, which is smaller in size but more numerous in population that its neighboring district of Felarik, completed its work before the latter, whereupon a number of boys and men of Rauau proceeded to Felarik and assisted the people of that district for an additional two days, until the work was completed. This was done entirely voluntarily. When I informed the chiefs of this cooperation, they were very pleased, and all proclaimed a spontaneous 'erat'. (Very good)."

28: Spiro--37-38 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 286 Ifalik

"This concern for the people of another district, which is expressed in this kind of cooperative labor, is in some cases enjoined by the chiefs. For example the island of Falalap required additional seins. Now a sein is usually about sixty feet long and about nine feet wide, and its construction, is a long and arduous job, requiring a huge quantity of rope. The Falalap chiefs ordered their men to make seins, and the [38] Felerik men, at the order of their chiefs, also made seins for Falalap, with their own rope though they would receive no direct benefit from this work."

28: Spiro--38
116, 476, 764, 505, 396

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The other construction [WPM: other than sein making] that is performed cooperatively is canoe-making, and here kinship plays a significant role, particularly in the construction of small canoes, which are owned and used by one person. In the construction of large canoes, many men will assist the owner because the task requires a number of hands at certain stages of the process, and also because, though owned privately, it is used for many communal purposes, such as burial and inter-atoll travel."

28: Spiro--38 [2]
116, 396, 476, 602

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In analysing the kin relationship of those assisting in canoe construction, we again observe the functioning of patrilineal and affinal relatives, as well as matrilineal relatives. For example in the construction of Tom's ocean-going canoe, the men most in evidence were his brother, his sister's son and a classificatory sister's son, as well as his sister's husband, his classificatory sister's husband, and his wife's brother, besides a number of men of both Rauau and Felarik who were not related in any form. In the construction of a small canoe that I observed, those who assisted the owner were his mother's classificatory sister's son, his mother's brother, his foster brother, and his dead mother's classificatory sister's husband--the latter doing the brunt of the work. In another instance, the man was assisted by his father, the foster father of his daughter, and his sister's husband. I list these in detail to indicate the importance of kin other than the lineage or the clan in economic activity."

"In the construction or repair of an ocean-going canoe, a number of other men participate [WPM: other than kin], particularly the men of the man's district. When the hull on Tom's canoe was to be fitted I counted 36 men participating in the job. The owner of the canoe provides food for all the participants when the task is completed, and in the case of the main workers, presents them with gifts of rope and lavalavas.

Now, aside from kin, whose cooperation is culturally ordained, the cooperation of the other participants is entirely voluntary (4), so that the degree of cooperation is a function of the esteem and respect that the initiator holds in the society. The well-liked man will receive much assistance, whereas he who is less well liked will suffer accordingly. We have already alluded to the lack of cooperation Tom received in the construction of his canoe, and his need to appeal to the chiefs to get fuller cooperation. This may be contrasted with the cooperation that Gaveleisei received when his ocean-going canoe required a complete over-hauling. He let it be known that he would need assistance, and the next day the entire man-power of his district had turned out, as well as many men from Felarik and Falalap. This display of cooperation was unquestionably a function of

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"4. There are exceptions to this, however. When he arrived on the island, and Tom was appointed as our interpreter, the chiefs ordered the men of Felarik to assist in the construction of Tom's canoe, since he would have little time to devote to it."

28: Spiro--38 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 476, 396, 602 Ifalik

Gaveleisie's personality. He is a person highly respected by his fellows, and justly so; he is a magnificent human being, intelligent, talented, and sensitive. When I informed Tom of the great number of men who had come to assist Gaveleisei, he explained that the task was easy, and that any person knew how to perform it. Tom was correct in saying that it was a relatively easy task, but there is little question that it was Gaveleisie's personality that accounted for the large turn-out, and that Tom was trying to rationalize the discrepancy in numbers between those who assisted him, and those who assisted Gaveleisei. The simple fact is that Gaveleisei is liked and respected more than Tom."

28: Spiro--38 [4]
116, 784, 396, 501

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Except for the taboo on the owner of the newly-constructed canoe to participate in repair jobs, I discovered only one other taboo in canoe-construction. When working on the keel, the men must fast until the afternoon."

28: Spiro--39 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 396, 226, 501 Ifalik

"There is one ritual ceremony connected with the construction of a large canoe. After the canoe is painted, a fire is lit outside the canoe-house for four consecutive nights, the canoe remaining in the canoe-house for that time. Failure to light the fire, would result in the men being unable to catch fish from that canoe--the fish would simply not bite."

28: Spiro--39 [2]
116, 226, 476, 262

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Except for the rare gathering of crabs by the women, and the even rarer slaughtering of a hog or killing of a chicken by the men, fish is the only source of meat, and it is highly prized. Fishing is done both individually and communally. Private fishing is of minor importance, as compared to the communal fishing. It consists of reef fishing with rod and line, and canoe fishing inside the lagoon and on top of the reef with line and bait, either live or lure. The natives make hooks of mother-of-pearl, and also use those introduced by the Japanese and by us. The term, individual fishing, must be qualified. It does not mean that an individual fishes privately, for this is very rare. Individual fishing is almost always practiced by a number of persons whether it be three or four boys casting into the surf, or nine or ten canoes, each trowing inside the lagoon or on top of the reef in a moonlit night."

28: Spiro--39 [3]
116, 226, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A minor form of cooperative fishing is the use of a fish trap in the shape of an arrowhead, made of the piling of stones to a height that juts above the water in low tide, but which is submerged in high tide. The fish inside this trap cannot escape at low tide because of the jutting rocks, and the men catch them with hand nets. There are three such traps on the island, and they provide sardine-sized fish, but only at certain periods during the year, which the natives know intimately and control quite well.

Another minor form of cooperative fishing is the use of a portable coconut-twig fish trap inside the lagoon, close to the shore in shallow water. The fish, the same kind caught in the stone traps, are 'driven' into the traps by the men standing patiently in the hot sun for many hours. The men stand behind the school of fish preventing them from altering their course, gradually heading them towards the trap. When one enters, the rest will follow, and the traps are constructed so that ingress is easy, but egress is well-nigh impossible. This work requires the cooperation of a number of men to guide the fish and to provide relief for each other as they work in shifts.

The fish caught by these techniques are either eaten immediately by the men themselves, if the haul is small, or is taken to their homes to be consumed by the entire household, if the haul is large. In the former case the men cook the fish themselves; in the latter it is prepared by the women."

28: Spiro--39-40 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 226, 476 Ifalik

"None of these techniques [WPM: using traps] compare in importance to the large co-operative fishing ventures, of which we can distinguish two kinds--sporadic fishing inside the lagoon or in the ocean, in the trade-wind season, and a period of three month persistent daily fishing, at the beginning of the prevailing westerlies.

Communal fishing might be undertaken at the initiative of a group of men, with the permission of the chief, sailing outside of the lagoon, and trolling with seins. The fish is then divided among the participants. Most communal fishing, however, is all-island, at least all-district, and it is initiated either at the express order of the chiefs, because they think the fish might be abundant, or to celebrate a religious ceremony or the completion of some public works; or it is initiated by some one observing a large school of fish inside the lagoon, and conveying the information to the entire village. The latter kind of innauguration is the most colorful and dramatic. Fortunately two expeditions were initiated in this fashion in front of my eyes, so that it was possible to observe the entire operation. On the morning of one of these expeditions we were preparing breakfast, and Maroligar, the second ranking chief, was sweeping the decaying vegetation from Atelu. The village was quiet and serene with only the shouts and cries of children to interrupt the morning calm. Then, precipitately, Maroligar began [40] to shout in a manner that led me to believe he had gone stark mad. He had seen a school of fish, and this was his way of informing the people. They responded in an instant. Everyone dropped his work, and ran to the canoe-houses. The village became a veritable madhouse. Men, women, and children, were all helping to carry large canoes, as well as traps, fishnets, and seins to the beaches. And the moment a canoe was launched, it was filled with men, who paddled furiously towards the fish. After the initial excitement the men settled down to a day of fishing, the object being to surround the fish with seins, gradually narrowing the circumference of the seins, until the fish were isolated in a small area, and then haul them in with nets and traps. The main problem, of course, is to surround the fish, and this may take two or three hours, chasing them back and forth across the lagoon. Once this is accomplished, the rest of the task is primarily watchful waiting, surreptitiously closing in on the fish, and preventing them from eluding the dragnet. This takes a long time, the men usually working under the hot sun from early morning until dusk.

The same technique is applied in the fishing announced in advance, except that there is no school to catch, and the process here is to systematically drag the shore side of the lagoon in sections, surrounding the fish, and catching them in nets and wires. This continues until the entire beach has been dragged, and again consumes an entire day."

28: Spiro--40
116, 462, 226, 834

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The women are not inactive, for while the men fish along the shore, the women are preparing starch foods to be eaten with the fish. When the men are after a school of fish, the women dance and sing. For reasons, which no one could explain, except by the universal explanation of 'from before', the women perform a bwaruch while the men engage in this kind of fishing. A bwaruch is a love song-and-dance. Normally it is performed by a woman for her sweetheart as a prelude to lovemaking. The dance is very suggestive and lascivious, and the words to the song are quite candid, in their reference to sexual anatomy and physiology. Yet, while the men are engaged in catching the fish, the women assemble on the beach, one or two households together, and perform these dances, and sing the songs sometimes entering the water.

When the men return with their catch, it is taboo for small children and women to witness them or the fish, and they must retire to their homes until the fish is unloaded on the shore and distributed.

There are other taboos connected with fishing. The men may not have sexual intercourse the evening preceeding a fishing expedition, for they 'stink' and Solal, the god of the ocean will make them sick. After a fishing expedition the men may not have sexual intercourse, nor may they work, for three days. Should they violate this taboo the fish will not bite in the future."

28: Spiro--40 [2]
116, 843, 225, 373

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If turtle eggs are discovered the people of the district in which they are discovered may not take a light from another person for four days. A pregnant woman and her husband may not eat turtle eggs at all during her pregnancy."

28: Spiro--40 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 252 Ifalik

"Some fish may not be prepared in a frying pan. Dr. Burrows was about to fry some fish, when Maroligar told him that he would prepare them, for if they were cooked in a pan, the same species of fish would not enter the lagoon again. "

28: Spiro--40-41 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 261, 251 Ifalik

"The distribution of fish is usually the task of Taroman, the fifth ranking chief. Every person who participated, as well as those unable to participate because of debility or illness, shares in the catch. The remaining fish are divided equally among the clans, and any surplus is then divided among the chiefs. If the men catch more than can be consumed within twenty-four hours, the fish is preserved by being smoked on a wooden rack, and is smoked every day until it is consumed. In the drive referred to above, 301 large bonito were caught, which was much more than could be consumed, and the [41] smoked-fish lasted for about two weeks without spoiling, by which time it had all been consumed."

28: Spiro--41
116, 226, 462, 834

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The second category [WPM: see p. 40] of fishing is the three month fishing period at the beginning of the westerlies. Fishing during the other seasons of the year is sporadic because fish are not abundant. But in these three months the 'flying fish' are found in large quantities, and the men catch them in the open sea at night by the light of flaming torches. This period is characterized by the complete separation of the sexes. The men and boys sleep in the canoe-houses and are brought food by the women who sleep alone in their houses with the babies. All sexual relations are completely taboo during these three months."

28: Spiro--41 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 463 Ifalik

"Though there is no division of labor on Ifaluk, in the sense of certain men performing certain fixed tasks, there is specialization, in that certain tasks require special training, and are performed only by certain men who have received special training. There are three such specialists, the navigators (palu) and the carpenters and construction engineers (zenap), and the priest-shaman. There are also men who are known as superior fishermen, but they do not derive their knowledge by special training, nor are they recognised institutionally by special names. The priest-shaman will be treated in the chapter on religion."

28: Spiro--41-42 (1947-48)1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 463, 502, 341 Ifalik

"The arts of the palu [WPM: navigators] and zenap, [engineers] were both supernatural dispensations, according to Ifaluk tradition, having been taught by 'gods', and were then handed down orally from generation to generation. These arts are taught to an apprentice over a considerable period of time, by the practitioner, for which instruction he receives gifts of lavalavs, skirts, tobacco, food, and other valuables. Though there is no hard and fast rule both these arts usually run in families, in the widest sense of that term, a practitioner giving preference to his own bilateral relatives, as well as to his in-laws. For example, the palus are Tom, his brother, his wife's brother, a distant kinsman, and two whom Tom is training, his son, and his sister's son. The Palu and the Zenap are among the most respected men on Ifaluk, and their offices are aspired to by the young men. In the Bavilais Moral Ideology Test a significant number of young men, when asked what they would like the most, answered that they would like to be a palu and/or a zenap.

That these two crafts are highly respected should occasion little surprise. Almost any adult male knows how to construct a house or a small canoe, or how to navigate a canoe in the open seas around the atoll. But the construction and repair of a canoe-house, or the navigation of a canoe on an overseas trip requires a highly specialised skill, which only the specialist possesses. The need for great skill becomes obvious when one

28: Spiro--41-42 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 463, 502, 341 Ifalik

considers the engineering principles that are necessary for the construction of a large structure or the knowledge required to sail as many as hundreds of miles over open sea, without aid of a compass or navigation chart, let alone Radar or Loran. (5) When any such task is to be performed, therefore, the specialist is called in, and payed for his services with lavalavas, rope, and food.

A few men have acquired skills in all these fields. Tom, for example, is a navigator, as well as a canoe carpenter and structural carpenter. This is unusual, for there are some who are canoe-carpenters, but who are not competent to build or repair [42] buildings, and there are very few who are navigators as well as carpenters."

"5. The skipper of the LST that brought us home, informed me that his Radar was not working on his trip to Ifaluk, and he was worried lest he not find the atoll since the slightest deflection of the needle of his compass would cause him to by-pass the island. The native navigator has only the stars, sun, moon, currents, and physical signs, such as reefs, flying birds, and schools of porpoises, to guide his directions."

28: Spiro--42 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 252, 527 Ifalik

"The women's economic activities have been enumerated above, and need little technical explanation. The cooking is done in the cook-sheds, usually a number of women in the household working together. In the preparation of food for feasts two and three households may cooperate. Most cooking is performed over the open fire; the *um*, the underground stone oven distributed universally thoughout Oceania, being used only on the occasion of feasts."

28: Spiro--42 [2]
116, 241, 462

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The Taro is the only plant that needs expensive care-planting, weeding, fertilizing, weeding, and this is the women's responsibility. It is hard, hot, labor, and usually all the women of a household, and sometimes two or three, work together on their own plots of land. As a result of this sexual specialization, the women are the botanical experts. When asked the names of different varieties of taro, Tom admitted his ignorance and referred us to his wife, saying that the women knew the names, but the men were ignorant of them, since horticulture was not their work. Despite the heat, a woman may not drink from a coconut while in the taro patch. Should she violate the taboo, the taro will not grow."

28: Spiro--42 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 291, 286 Ifalik

"The women weave their skirts and loin-cloths on a true loom. The fabric of which these clothes are made is the bark of the hibiscus or banana tree, which is stripped into long threads. These threads are allowed to dry in the sun, and are then dyed in natural dyes, made by immersing certain kinds of coral into water, creating a chemical reaction, so that the water assumes the color desired, and in turn dyes the thread. Young girls are taught to strip the bark into thread, and to tie the thread together, and in their early teens they are already weaving. But the job is an arduous one, even the most skillful women requiring a minimum of two weeks to complete a skirt, if she does nothing else but weave."

28: Spiro--42 [4]
116, 462, 517

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The women's tasks are more numerous and time-consuming than the men's, so that it is not unusual to see the men sitting in the canoe-houses with nothing to do, but quite unusual for the women."

28: Spiro--42 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 431, 592 Ifalik

"Distribution presents no problem of Ifaluk, each household being an economically-autonomous unit, and hence exchange is not necessary. There is inter-atoll trade, as we have already seen, but, as was pointed out, this trade really falls into category of gift-exchange."

28: Spiro--42 [6] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 437, 423 Ifalik

"The only commercial transaction involves the acquisition of some raw material, and this is rare. I observed only one such transaction during our entire stay on the atoll. I was sitting with Tom and two other men in a canoe house in Felarik, when a canoe paddled by men from Falalap came up. The men beached their canoe, and then sat on the beach, conversing among themselves. Tom asked them what they were doing there. They said that they had come to acquire a certain tree, which they wanted to make a canoe. Tom told them who the owner of the tree was and some of them went to call him. In the meantime the others unloaded a number of blankets and coils of rope, which was the payment for the tree. There was no bargaining or discussion, the Falalap men giving what they thought the tree was worth, and the owner accepting the payment without question. He neither examined nor counted their payment, nor did he attempt to keep the tree. Later, I asked Tom whether the exchange was fair, and he said that the payment was very generous."

28: Spiro--42 [7] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 471, 421 Ifalik

"Property rights and laws of inheritance of property are clearly defined. Theoretically, the Ifaluk economy can be characterized as state socialism, for all property, the natives claim, is owned by the chiefs. The entire atoll, land and water is their property, as is all manufactured goods, since they can confiscate these, if they wish. Functionally, however, in terms of usufruct, we may distinguish five kinds of property. 1. Free-property: 2. Public property 3. Lineage property 4. Patrilineal group property 5. Personal or private property"

28: Spiro--43
116, 423

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Free Property: All the uncultivated land in the bush is free property, and can be used by any one, tresspass not being recognized."

28: Spiro--43 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 423, 226 Ifalik

"Public property: This includes the seins, fighting traps, canoe-houses, and the Fanap. The seins and fishing traps are constructed by the men of a district, and remain in the canoe-houses. They are communal property, and are used by the men in their fishing expeditions. The Fanap is the 'town-hall', and though it is said that is 'belongs to the chiefs', it is actually used for all public meetings, and is repaired, in case of damage, by all the men of the district. The canoe houses, are theoretically owned by one individual, in that one of his ancestors is reputed to have built it. But, actually it is used by all the men, of the district, and is repaired by them. Any attempt on his part to prevent some one from using it would be unthinkable."

28: Spiro--43 [3]
116, 423, 613

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Lineage property: The houses and taro patches are included in this category. Theoretically the house is owned by the eldest woman of the lineage, and at her death is inherited by the next oldest woman. This is just another way of saying, however, that it belongs to the matrilineal lineage, for it descends in that line in perpetuity. This means that the house in non-transferable, that it can not be bought or sold. Theoretically, the taro patches are owned by the men, but again analysis reveals that it is lineage property. The women of the man's household work his patch, the taro belongs to them, and they use it to feed the members of their household, including their husbands who are members of a different lineage. However, a woman gives some of the prepared taro to her brother indicating that it belongs to all the members of the lineage. That the taro patches belong to the lineage is also revealed by the fact that they descend to the man's sister's sons at his death."

28: Spiro--43 [4]
~~116~~, 423, 613

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Patrilineal group property: Coconut and breadfruit trees are owned by the males of a patrilineal descent group, so that a man's death, his trees descend to his son's and brother's sons, and like the taro-patches and houses, belong to this line perpetuity, being non-transferable."

28: Spiro--43 [5]
116, 428

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Strictly speaking, the above two categories of property-matrilineal lineage property, and patrilineal descent group peoperty are not subject to the laws of inheritance, as we commonly understand that term. A house is used by the members of the household, and continues to be so used regardless of any-one's death. The same is true of the taro patches and the trees. A well-recognised group uses the fruit of these plants, has legal right in them, and continues to use them as members of this group regardless of the changes in its membership through birth or death. This is, of course, merely another way of stating that these are group property, owned by the group in perpetuity, and therefore unaffected by changes in the membership of the group. It is not that a man's sons or sister's sons inherit a particular piece of property from him at his death, but rather, it is their descent from him at birth, and not his death that confer upon them the use of the property. The property is not divided into individual plots of ground or trees, each individual in the group receiving an equal share, but remains as a whole in the group, all individuals in the group having equal rights in it."

28: Spiro--43 [6]
116, 422

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Personal property: This category includes a man's canoes, tools, rope, all clothes, and personal effects-combs, baskets, etc. At his death a man's canoes are divided among his sons and sister's sons. His rope is inherited by his sons, and his clothes and personal effects are disposed of as his family sees fit."

28: Spiro--43-44 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 421 Ifalik

"Even a brief acquaintance with this culture reveals that private property plays a minor role. Only what a person himself creates belongs to him, and only such objects may be transferred. All other objects belong to a group, ranging in size from a unilateral descent group to the entire society and remains in the group in perpetuity. Two polar attitudes characterize the dynamic aspects of property rights--the punctiliousness with which a person refrains from using another's real property, and the culturally expected generosity of use of another's property upon request. That is, when a person wants a coconut he will never climb a tree that does not belong to him to [44] obtain one. Though the islands are dense with coconut trees, and every one has many more trees than he can possibly use, and though the taking of one nut would be of no economic significance, no one would dare take a nut from a tree that is not his. Each man knows his own trees, though they may be scattered and mixed with trees of others, and will pick only his own. This holds true for the taro patches. A woman will not take taro from another's patch, though there is taro enough on the island to feed many more mouths than there are on Ifaluk. But the proprietary rights in these patches is felt very strongly, and people are quite jealous of these rights, as is indicated by the TAT and by the admonitions of the chiefs to refrain from taking another's taro."

28: Spiro--44
116, 421

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"One is expected to be generous with his movable property. Though the canoes are owned individually, any one may borrow another's canoe, preferably with his knowledge, but even without it. A man wishing to make an overseas journey asks permission from an owner of an ocean-going canoe to use his canoe, with full assurance that permission will be granted, a refusal being unheard of. And the same holds true for tools, traps, and other objects that a person may wish to use."

28: Spiro--44 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 565, 422, 556 Ifalik

"All of this [WPM: see pp. 43-44] indicates a basic economic equality, and the absence of social classes based on wealth. Though the size of taro patches or coconut groves are not equal, these are so abundant that any inequality is unimportant, particularly where land and trees are viewed purely functionally and not as indicators of prestige. In perishable objects, such as canoes, or rope, or lavalavas, some may own more than others, but this inequality is a function of relative diligence, rather than wealth, for all know the techniques of their manufacture, and accumulate many or little as they see fit. Property is desired and respected, but it is not something which, though aspired to by many can be attained by only a few. It is something that any one with the requisite technical abilities can have, since every one creates his own property."

28: Spiro--44 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 421, 181 Ifalik

"It is important to understand that the natives adopt a very pragnatic attitude towards this property. It is desired for use, not for prestige or 'conspicuous consumption.' Thus, though in economic terms they possess wealth, in psychological and cultural terms, they possess only property, and they aspire to property and to possessions, not to wealth, in the abstract. What is respected, therefore, is not mere possession, but rather the skills that enable one to possess, by creation."

28: Spiro--44 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 -2
116, 177, 421 Ifalik

"Economic acculturation, in that it provides certain individuals and not others with certain objects, has resulted in a desire for certain kinds of property, and confers upon their owners certain prestige. This merely illustrates the universal economic law of scarcity as a primary contributor to economic value. Western gadgets, and tools, introduced by the Japanese or by the Americans, including the anthropologists--and of necesity distributed to a few--incur the admiration and envy of the others. The knives we distributed among the chiefs were the envy and admiration of all the men. The playing cards we gave to our 'boys' were admired and longed for by the others. The perfume we gave to Tom's wife or to the chiefs' wives was desired by the other women. Thus one can safely predict that as long as real property remains in the lineages, and as long as other property can be acquired by any one with the requisite skills that property and wealth will create no psychological or social tensions. But if native system of land tenure should be changed so as to enable some to accumulate more at the expense of others, or if the Navy should offer jobs to some of the men and not to others, and thus enable them to buy western manufactured objects--particularly objects, like flashlights, that can be used only by one person at a time, tensions will inevitably arise as they have in other colonial areas.

There are two factors, then, that have served to almost eliminate economic tensions on Ifaluk: The culturally ordained pattern of cooperation and generosity in the distribution of goods and their use, and the abundance of those things that are desired, so

28: Spiro--44 [4]
116, 177, 421

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

that all can share in them. A change in either the cultural or natural resources, indigenously or through contact, would soon alter this."

28: Spiro--45 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 771 Ifalik

"Ifaluk religion cannot be considered apart from the culture of which it is an integral part without doing violence to both the religion and the culture. The fact that our society is unique in consigning religion to a separate category--one among a number of aspects of culture--has been pointed out by numerous authors, and has become commonplace in our thinking. Yet it is necessary to stress this point in a discussion of Ifaluk religion because the inter-relationship between religion and the entire culture is so inextricable that the natives have no term for religion. Religion is not something apart, a special realm of being to be distinguished from mundane, everyday existence. On the contrary, religion is part of the entire culturally constituted world of the natives, in which dichotomies of natural-supernatural, material-spiritual, etc., which are an intergral feature of western thinking, play no role."

28: Spiro--45 [2]
116, 771, 753, 261

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The disproportionate length of this section results from the disproportionate emphasis placed on these matters in the culture and in the minds and behavior of the people. Food and health (or illness, to look at its adverse), are the two foci, to employ a concept of Herskovits, of this culture and the subjects with which we identify the term religion, are inextricably interrelated in Ifaluk with health and disease."

"Cosmogomy and cosmology: The following account was received from all five chiefs in a number of sessions. It is unknown or only vaguely known by the people, who would invariably respond to my questions with a confession of ignorance. As we shall observe in another connection, this ignorance of the people reflects their indifference to cosmological problems, since this knowledge is not taboo, and the chiefs, who are the repositories of this information have no compunctions about imparting it.

Like many other cultures, the concept of a creatio ex nihilo is completely absent in Ifaluk. There is no creator, the world having always existed. Nor were the chiefs concerned about the problem of first causes. When asked how the world came into being, they replied that they did not know; it was always there. At some time in the distant past--how far back they could not say, since they have no system of time notation--there appeared a primordial mother, Legobub. Again, her appearance is unexplained. Legobub had three children, whose creation is unaccounted for. That is, it is not known whether she fashioned them out of some material, or whether she conceived and gave birth to them. In any event, it is clear that she did not have a male consort, and however she created her children, she did so without male assistance. Having performed this function, she plays no further role, either in the mythology, theology, or functional religion of Ifaluk.

Legobub's three children were her son, Aluilap, whom she ordained as ruler of the sky; Solal, another son, ordained as ruler of the nether world; and Autran, a daughter, who was later to create the people of the Caroline Islands. (1).

The natives have no term which corresponds to our words, universe, or cosmos, which would unite in one term the oceans, land, heavens etc. These are but so many discrete entities in their minds, and the concept for earth, as opposed to the heavens. There is land (falu), and there is ocean (tat), but again, there is no uniting of these two discrete entities into one conceptual term. Their term bwanifalu, which literally means, all the lands, is their most inclusive geomorphic frame of reference and is a descriptive, rather than a conceptual term. It means what it literally says, and refers to the fact that they recognise other lands besides their own. Bereft of maps, however, it is obvious that their knowledge of other lands is mere recognition, of their existence. Before contact, their knowledge of the world was limited to the Carolines, and this knowledge was more than mere recognition of the existence of other islands. It included a well defined spatial orientation, which enabled them to locate islands as distant as four hundred miles. With contact their quantitative information has been increased, but not their conceptual knowledge. Europe, which is their generic term for all the 'civilised' countries they have heard of, exists outside of the Carolines, but they haven't the slightest idea where.

"1. [See following sheet for footnote 1.]"

28: Spiro--45-46 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 772, 184 Ifalik

"1. [Footnote 1, pp. 45-46] Arogeligar, the priest-doctor, with whom I discussed these problems at great length, gave me an entirely different version. Here we have a problem, in what Herskovits has called, the question of 'ethnographic truth', in a most extreme form. For we have here not one informant differing from another, thus indicating variability, but we have the two only sources in the entire culture differing fundamentally --the political and the religious, both of whom profess to competence in these matters. Tom realised this difficulty, too, and solved it by saying that the chief's account was the authentic, whilst the other was spurious. In any event, the ignorance of the [46] people, the disagreement between chiefs and priest-shaman, and the lack of assurance with which the chiefs approached these matters--all indicate the unimportance of these matters and the people's lack of concern with them.

Arogeligar's creation story is as follows: At one time there was neither land nor water, nor sky. The sky was made by four brothers (sic)--Aluelap, Solan, Autran (Autran is a woman in the chiefs' account) and Metha (absent in the chiefs' account). Arogeligar did not know how these brothers came into being. After making the sky, Aluelap made the land and the oceans, first creating the high islands, (including 'Europe', by which the natives understand a vague 'island', including Japan, Germany, Spain, America, and other countries they may have heard of) and then the low islands. After creating the islands, he then created people to inhabit them.

28: Spiro--45-46 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-4
116, 772, 184 Ifalik

The brothers then decided that Aluelap would remain in the sky, Solan would reside under the oceans, Autran would inhabit the atmosphere, and Metha would be in the speech of the people, for Metha is the native term for 'what.'"

The Carolines are called Iligalifalu, literally, 'the lands that are here', and as has already been indicated, (2) the natives are well oriented spatially within this area."

"2. Falu means land, but it is synonymous with island, since the only land the natives know is an island. My attempt to describe a land mass as large as the United States, evoked expresssions of incredibility and amazement. Taroman, one of the chiefs, finally concluded that Ifaluk was as a grain of sand, compared to America, which actually isn't far from wrong."

28: Spiro--46 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 821, 177, 804 Ifalik

"The sky, is a physical object, in the shape of a dome, which meets the oceans at its extremities. The surface of the earth--land and ocean--is flat, and is bounded by the sky at its limits.

Though the world is bounded and the sky is a material, impermeable object, no native has reached these points. The chiefs asked me whether any American had ever reached north or south. That is, these terms do not serve merely as directional indicators, as they do for us, but they are actual physical places, which one reaches if one travels far enough. They also wished to know if any American airplane had ever flown to the sky. The Japanese had told them that they (the Japanese) had done so."

28: Spiro--46-47
116, 821

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

The sun, moon, and stars, are fixed to the sky, and move along it, much as a train moves on its tracks, so that the sun, for example, has its ial, its path, which it follows every day. The people assign the same function to the sun as they do to the moon and stars--to provide light. Were there no heavenly bodies, people would die, say the natives, because they would have no light by which to work. [47]

The causes and functions of other cosmic phenomena such as rain, wind, thunder, lightning, are unknown. It is not realised that rain is necessary for the growth of vegetation, nor should this be surprising, since there is no period of growth nor its concommitant destruction of crops which would indicate such a relationship."

28: Spiro--47-48 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 -4
116, 773, 775 Ifalik

"Autran, the daughter of Legobub, created man, that is the Caroline people. The natives have as yet not explained the creation of the other peoples whom they have met since contact. Her method of creation is unknown though she is referred to as the mother of the people. The chiefs say that only the chiefs of Gachepar in Yap, and the chiefs of Mogmog in Ulithi know the details of the creation. The Ifaluk chiefs do know, however, that the people of Yap were created first, after which Autran created the Ulithians and then the Ifalukians, which is why Yap is the first ranking island in the Western Carolines After creating man, Autran retired to the atmosphere, where she now lives, though her house, Lamoru, still remains in Gachepar, and the tribute that is offered to Yap, is brought to her house, and is really for her, though it is given to the chiefs. (3)

Man originally was immortal, and only later became mortal, (And here we have the chief's version of the story told above by Arogeligar). After Autran had created the Caroline people, Legbrielnialel and Ligesges were assigned to guard the path taken by the souls of the dead as they ascended to the sky. When the soul arrived Legubrielnialel would say: 'He dies, dies, he dies like the moon'. (Imaiam imalia lualang.) That is, man does not really die, but merely waxes and wanes like the phases of the moon. Upon

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"3. [See following sheet for footnote 3]"

28: Spiro--47-48
116, 773, 775

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

"3. [Footnote p. 47] Arogeligar told me a different Creation myth. It is not a different version, but an entirely different story. This myth was told him by his maternal grandmother. The significance of the myth in terms of acculturation will be obvious.

After creating the land, Aluelap descended to the earth, --exactly where, he does not know--and from one of his own ribs, created one man and one woman. After a time, they had some children, and soon the various islands were populated. These early people ate no food, wore no clothes, nor did any kind of work. However, 'by'n by, Aluelap say, "what's the matter, I give that my rib, I no give chow? by'n by no more people' (that is they will die of starvation). He give them chow; they chow. No have lavalava, they am very ashamed. Aluelap give them chow, they savvy everything--how to make lavalava, chow, work, everything. Aluelap tell that snake: "You go on tree, you call man and woman, they come to chow. I make people, they no savvy work, shame, chow. More better you call that people, they eat that fruit, they savvy. "They eat two piece that fruit; they see they have no clothes; they see that penis and that vagina. They am very ashamed, they run between tree.'

This is obviously the Genesis myth. It most probably was learned by one of the natives on Yap, from a missionary, or perhaps on Guam, from which it was diffused through various channels, coming to Arogeligar's mother. He presented it, of course, as a native story, which in his mind was preliminary to a native myth he proceeded to tell, but which turned out to be a variant of a myth I later collected from the chiefs, and which, in their version was not a creation myth at all. It is to be noted that though Aluelap had already created mortals, and they had populated the world, Ifaluk was as yet uninhabited. Aluelap told two of the women inhabitants of the sky, Legubrielnialel and Ligesges, to descend to Ifaluk. The former was very wise ('she savvy everything') while the latter was stupid ('she fool fellow'). Aluelap had given Legubrielnialel the power to have anything she wished for. Thus she had only to wish for a house, or cooked food, and it was hers. One day she wished for two men, and they appeared. The men and the two women copulated and populated the island. The people had no need for industries of any kind, since their wants were provided for by Legbuielnialel. One day, however, the women had a quarrel, and Legubrielnialel in her anger departed from Ifaluk and traveled to 'Europe' where she settled. Thus 'Europe' benefited by her wisdom, and soon became as wise as she, whereas Ifaluk was left with the stupid Ligesges, and remained in ignorance, knowing neither taro, breadfruit, or fish, nor fire. They did have clothes however, and they ate coconuts.

It is quite obvious that part of this story, at any rate, originated after contact or was reinterpreted as an ex post facto explanation of 'Europe's technological superiority over Ifaluk." [48]

hearing this, the soul would return to the earth, and mankind remained immortal.

However, at the same time that Legubrielnialel was declaring man's immorality, Ligesges would address the soul with these words: 'He dies, he really dies' (Imaima manigesges). Eventually the souls of the dead believed her words and did not attempt to return to the earth, and thus death became permanent. (3)" [sic]

"3. After Arogeligar had told me his version of the creation story, I asked him the cause of the quarrel of Legubrielnialel and Ligesges and he told me the above story of the chiefs, except that in his version the rival conceptions of death were the cause of a quarrel these two women had had while living on Ifaluk, and did not have the profound consequences for mankind that the chiefs' version has.

Arogeligar explains mortality much more prosaically. Aluelap had created man immortal. But after a time an inhabitant of the sky pointed out to him: 'Very bad that. People no die. By'n by no enough chow, for too many people. More better people die.' Aluelap saw the the wisdom of this insight and created death. Thus Malthus' theory of the disproportionate rate of increase of food and population was discovered--independently by a 'stone-age savage.'"

28: Spiro--48 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 773, 618 Ifalik

"Autran is not only the creator goddess, she is culture hero as well. After creating man she taught him the use of fire, the preparation of food, and the construction of canoes, fish nets and houses. She also instituted the incest taboos, taught the people a sense of sexual shame and gave them lavalavas, and instituted the various clans. (4) Construction work was first taught her by Aluelap, after which she taught this skill to the people."

"4. The chiefs pointed out that the institution of the clans was a great boon. For if she had not created the various clans (ailang), 'all people belong to one ailang, then no one copulate.' This is very interesting reasoning and is an excellent example of how deeply rooted are cultural institutions. The concept of the clan is so deeply rooted that the chiefs cannot conceive of society without clans. Thus, if there were no clans, it would be necessarily follow, in their minds, that there would be one clan; and since every person would belong to the same clan, there could be no intercourse, given the taboo of clan endogamy."

"Having created man and instituted his culture, Autran retired to the atmosphere, which was to remain her dwelling. Aluelap, it will be recalled, was assigned to the sky, (iang) which he still inhabits, as the chief of the sky-gods, with his wife, Metha (5) his son Lugeiling, and the latter's wife and sons. The name of their dwelling is Tatuma which is at the zenith of the sky.

In a vague and nebulour sense, Aluelap and his family may be designated as the protector deities. They 'look out for people', providing them with food, and protecting them from harm. But this is true, I repeat, only very vaguely. Arogeligar and the chiefs are the only persons who are at all conversant with theological matters, and they could provide no coherent or detailed descriptions of the activities of these deities.

"5. It will be recalled that Arogeligar related Metha to Aluelap as his brother. But both chiefs and Arogeligar agree that Metha has nofunction other than to be on the tongues of people, asking metha, (what) when they wish to know something.

The chiefs also differ from Arogeligar and Saafert, the latter two agreeing that Aluelaps eyes are closed, (for he is in a constant sleep) so that if someone [49] must speak with him, his son, Lugeiling, opens his eyes with a pole as large as a coconut tree. The chiefs disagree with this version, saying that at one time Aluelap was blind, but he gained his eyesight and now he can see."

28: Spiro--48-49 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 772 Ifalik

Lugeiling makes a daily tour of the islands and reports to Aluelap on the activities of the people. Should the people misbehave--the entire society, that is, not a particular individual--Aluelap orders Lolal to inflict them with a typhoon and/or a tidal wave. (6).

This land in the sky, inhabited by Aluelap and his family, is a duplicate of the terrestial earth, having islands, ocean, trees, and so forth. But the conceptualization of this pantheon of 'high gods' is vague indeed. To such questions as to whether they were corporeal, whether they are, copulated, or manifested other physical and behavioral characteristics, the answer invariably was, 'I don't know--from before, before.' The mythology, on the other hand, definitely portrays them as anthropomorphic in all ways."

"6. According to Arogeligar, Aluelap also implants the soil in the Loetus. The chiefs deny this, though other people affirmed it."

28: Spiro--49-50 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 -3
116, 776 Ifalik

"These sky gods are known as Alusiang. The word, Alus, is the generic term for supernatural, of which, as we shall see, there are two kinds--benevolent and malevolent. The benevolent supernaturals are called Alusemar, of which there are two categories; the alusisalup (literally, the alus of the earth) who, as we shall see, are the benevolent dead, and the Alusiang, (literally, the alus of the sky), who are this royal, family the pantheon of high gods.

Solan, the third child of Legobub, and the brother of Autran and Aluelap was assigned, it will be remembered, to the nether-world, Ilal, where he lives in his house, called Falisat. Ilal is inhabited by mortals, like those living on earth. It is all ocean, and enjoys neither sun, moon, nor stars. The people seem to live in water-proof houses. Solan, in some vague way, controls the fish supply. He is especially angry at men who catch fish immediately following sexual intercourse, for they 'stink', and punishes them with illness. (7)

"7. Solan is a very vague being in the minds of both the chiefs and of Arogeligar, neither of them remembering any details about him. This follows from the negligible role he plays in their lives and thought. Solal, too, does not fit into either of the two categories of alusemar, though in terms of the creation myth, he belongs to the pantheon of high gods."

28: Spiro--49-50 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 776 Ifalik

Solan and Aluelap, according to the chiefs, cause death, the consent of both being necessary. If one of the two wishes a person to die, he informs the other. If the latter agrees, the person dies; if not, he continues to live. (8). [50]

These high gods, the alusiang, are not clearly defined conceptually because they are relatively unimportant functionally. If the chiefs and Arogeligar are vague about these supernaturals, the people are almost entirely ignorant of them. Invariably I would be told by men and women, adults and youths, that though they had heard of the name of

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"8. Again confusion reigns. The malevolent dead, as we shall soon see are universally accepted as the agents of death, rather than Solal and Aluelap. Furthermore, within this theory, Arogeligar, who is the specialist in matters of death has a variant interpretation. Aluelap decides when a person is to die. He informs Lolal of his intention, and Solal informs Metha, who then removes the person's soul, thus causing his death."

28: Spiro--49-50
116, 776

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-3
Ifalik

Aluelap or Solan, or Autran, they did not know what they did, where they lived, or exactly whom they were, other than the fact that they were alus. The one exception is the alus, Tilitr. But Tilitr, strictly speaking, is not an alusiang, but rather the Ifaluk patron deity, and we shall discuss his role shortly."

28: Spiro--50 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 776 Ifalik

"The Alusisalup comprise the second category of alusemar, and these are the functionally important benevolent supernaturals. Every person becomes an alus at death. If a person is evil or malevolent on earth, he becomes an evil or malevolent alus at death; that is, his immortal character is but a continuation of his mortal character. If a person is good or benevolent on earth, he becomes a good or benevolent alus at death, his immortal character being a persistence in time of his mortal character. (9) Now

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"9. Actually, immortal, is a better rendering of alus than supernatural. Supernatural has been understood in western culture to mean an ontological realm of being, in contrast to and absolutely separated from, the natural realm, or nature. The dichotomy between the natural and supernatural orders is absolute and unqualified, so that only by an act of divine revelation can the two realms ever meet. Now this dichotomy of the universe into the natural and supernatural violates the native conons of thinking in Ifaluk. There is but one ontological order which comprises the 'Great Society.' of aramat inhabitants of the earth, and alus, inhabitants of the sky. There is constant interraction between them, and they are alike in most respects, except that the former are mortal and the latter, immortal."

28: Spiro--50
116, 776

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

it should be clearly understood that the western concept of supernatural reward and punishment is completely absent from Ifaluk thought. The *Alusengau*, the malevolent *alus*, is not such because he is punished for his immoral behavior on earth. Nor is the moral person rewarded at death by becoming an *alusisalup*. Both good and evil persons ascend at death to the sky as they were on earth. When a man dies, his soul (*ngas*) ascends to the sky on a special path. At the end of the path there stands a guard (10), who directs the souls to their respective habitations."

"10. This guard is named, but none of the chiefs could remember it, and inquiry about the village produced only negative results."

28: Spiro--50-51
116, 775

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"The souls of the good are directed to Langalian, the abode of the alusisalup, which is at the zenith, near Fatima, the home of the alusiang. (11) The souls of the bad are directed to Pungulon or Langalgezepelach, the names given by the chiefs and by Arogeligar, respectively.

Though it is the soul that ascends to the sky, and the body is buried in the ocean, the alus are corporeal, though it is not clear at all whether they resume their earthly bodies, or acquire different ones. But it is known that they are corporeal because people have seen the alusengau on their visits to Ifaluk, and those people possessed by the aluisalap have perceived them in human form.

Both alus, the good and the bad alike, lead lives in the sky that parallel their lives on earth, with the one difference that biological families do not remain together (even

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"11. The alusisalu also have an abode in the nether-world of Solan, called Gelangas, but this need not detain us, since no one, not even the chiefs, knows anything about this abode, except the name."

28: Spiro--50-51 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 775 Ifalik

assuming that all the members of the family become one or other of the two kinds of alus) but each repairs to the special abode of his clan, each clan having its own habitation. Spouses are not rejoined at death, but marry another person. Otherwise, their lives are the same, performing their same functions--they work, eat, copulate, and so forth."

28: Spiro--51 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 261, 151 Ifalik

"Food, as we shall see, is a focal value in Ifaluk, so that I was interested to know the food of the alus. The chiefs confessed that they did not know. Arogeligar, on the other hand, said that the alusisalup have two kinds of food--flowers and wot, both of which they obtain in the sky. The people on earth wear flower leis (parmar) because they know that the gods are fond of them, and will smell their fragrant odor, should they descend. They like the odor of flowers, and they abhor 'any stink.'"

28: Spiro--51 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 262, 252 Ifalik

"Wot is a species of taro, much rarer than the other two kinds of Ifaluk, and is prised very highly. Its value is apparently recognized by the alus as well, since it is the only other food eaten by them. When a person on earth is ill, wot is prepared for him, at the behest of the alus (that is, at the behest of Arogeligar), because of its presumed medicinal value. (12)"

"12. Wot is prepared differently from other kinds of taro. It is prepared differently from other kinds of taro. It is placed directly on the fire, and is removed after much charcoal formed. It is then ground fine, grated coconut meat is ground in with it, after which ground leaves of the warung and angorik plants are mixed in."

"Both kinds of alus live identical lives in the sky, the only difference being that the alusengau have 'very bad stomach', that is, they are evil. Langalian, the abode of the alusisalup, is constantly beautiful. Pungulon, on the other hand, the abode of the alusengau fluctuates between extreme beauty and extreme ugliness, but when it is beautiful, it is even more beautiful than Langalian. [WPM: p. 52 is missing from original text.] [53]

Though the alusisalup live in the sky, some of them descend to earth, appear to a person, and possess him. These alus do not possess any one indiscriminately, but possess only persons in their own matrilineal lineage. Thus, the alus is inherited matrilineally, so that a man and his son have different alus. Each lineage house has some alus --Arogeligar said, three or four--that are its special alus, and they function as parental protectors and mentors of the lineage. The alus may possess any person in the lineage, but particularly the walialus (literally, the canoe of alus), of which there is one in every lineage. The walialus is recognised by his frequency of possession. The alus 'come on top' the possessed person, and the latter, then, is conceived of as a canoe which the alus rides.

The alus possesses the walialus for several reasons. He may be lonesome for his mortal kin, or he may wish to admonish them to be good, and to shun evil. The lineage knows the names of its alus, as the latter tell their names to the walialus. These names

28: Spiro--51-53 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaiana-2
116, 776, 787, 753 Ifalik

are different from their earthly names, since they are given new names by Aluelap, when they ascend to the sky. Whether the possessee recognises the exact kinship relationship of the alus is not clear. Some say that the alus informs the possessee of his name, but not of his relationship. Others, including Arogeligar, say that he reveals his exact relationship. In the pidgin English of Tom, the alus descends on a person, and asks: 'you savvy me? '. If the person does not recognise him, the alus says, 'I your father', or whatever the relationship may be. He then tells him, 'No do bad, no talk bad (against) alus and people. You make good. By'm by you have sick, I give you medicine.'

This last phrase, 'I give you medicine' is the most important function of the alus. As we shall see the alusengau cause disease, and it is the alusisalup that provide the medicine to cure the victim. The exact nature of healing will be examined later, but here it must be stressed that aside from acting as the benevolent patron of the lineage, the sole function of the alusisalup is to cure the ill."

"Possession is called *alusemar bwuter*, literally, the benevolent alus has arrived. It is marked by a kind of convulsive seizure, called *zagogo* or *chato alus*, in which there seems to be a high degree of dissociation, which may last for quite a long time.

Possession can occur in both men and women. It is a relatively infrequent phenomenon, however, and occurs only at night. In our seven month stay on Ifaluk, there were only several possessions. Almost invariably, the person possessed, some other member of his household, or perhaps Arogeligar announces the possession by blowing shrill blasts on a whistle (obtained from the Japanese and Americans). At the sound of the whistle, other people may assemble in the courtyard of the one possessed. At other times, the possession may become infectuous so that others become possessed, in a minor sense. The become 'happy' and the entire group joins in the singing of a *chapeng*, a religious song, or hymn, and then the young men may walk through the village singing.

I do not mean to examine the causes of possession at this time, but merely wish to point to two relevant factors, cultural and physiological. The few possessions that we witnessed followed imeediately upon a major religious ceremony, their occurence at that time being, therefore no 'accident'. In other words, the influence of the ceremony, at which the alus are evoked, acted as a strong stimulant, in which suggestion played a major role. Secondly, possession occurs only at night, after the people have consumed

28: Spiro--53
116, 787, 276

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Woleaians-2
Ifalik

large quantities of toddy. The toddy, particularly the fermented kind, is a strong stimulant, and induces a state of mind corresponding to what we call being 'high'. The persons possessed were all 'high', and very obviously under the influence of the toddy, as we shall see in a moment."

"In contrast to the general infrequency of possession is the frequency with which Arogeligar is possessed. Unfortunately I did not record the number of times he was possessed, but hardly a week passed without his being possessed at least once. And invariably he would blow blasts on his whistle and walk through the village hoping to induce others to follow him. Often these possessions occured late at night after most people were asleep. Unlike the others, who are possessed by the alusisalup, Arogeligar is possessed by an Alusiang, the Ifaluk patron diety, Tilitr. This possession is known as 'abwuter aluseuelaush', our father has come.'

We may now look at two cases of possession that I witnessed. The first happened two nights after a two day ceremony. We were sitting in our tenst when we heard singing and the shrill blows of a whistle, and I went out to see what was happening. The people of the house closest to our tent were seated in the courtyard, singing what was obviously a chapeng, but this in itself did not mean a possession since the singing of chapengs in the evening is not at all unusual. I was then attracted by a much louder singing proceeding from another house much further from our tent. When I arrived, I noticed that there were about 20 people seated in front of the house, singing a chapeng, and that a few showed minor degrees of possession, by euphoric smiles on their faces, the quality of the singing, and the movement of their arms and bodies. Arogeligar was leading the singing, and was obviously 'high.' Normally he would greet me with a smile, and with the native greeting of *mauwas*. That night, however, and indeed on all nights that he was possessed or high--and usually it was both--he would greet me with one of the few English phrases he had picked up--'good morning'--in a shrill voice, accompanied by a sharp jerk of his arm in my direction. By this time Dr. Burrows had arrived, as well, and he offered us both a wreath. It was evident that he had been possessed before we had arrived, and had come out of the possession, but was still influenced by it, and this impression was later confirmed when our boy, Talimera, informed me that the *alus* had come to Arogeligar. After about half an hour of singing, he announced that he was going to the home of Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, and invited us to accompany him. The women remained behind, and he was accompanied by the young men, all singing as they walked up the path, whilst he was blowing his whistle. Talimera had just been possessed, too, as he informed me the next day. At Paluelimar's there was more singing, and at Arogeligar's request, Paluelimar placed tobacco on the shrine in his courtyard. After about twenty minutes, the entire group left Paluelimar to go to Tom's house. Arogeligar asked Tom to tell us that he and the boys were going to continue their walking through the woods, and that it would be better if we returned, which, of course, we did. I heard singing and whistling until late into the night, when I finally fell asleep.

The next day, Talimera informed me that a woman had been bathing in the channel between Felarik and Falalap in the early evening, and an alusengau had frightened her by throwing stones at her, and by rustling the water. Just about the same time Arogeligar was possessed, and he frightened the alusengau, so that it had separated.

On the evening of Octoger fifth, I was scoring the day's Rorschach records when I heard chapeng singing coming from a near-by house. I went to investigate, followed later by Dr. Burrows. Arogeligar was just leaving the courtyard of the house, as we approached. This time he recited his 'good morning' again, but instead of jerking his arm as a form of greeting, he seized the hand of Dr. Burrows and kissed it.

As we came to the house, we saw the members of the family seated, singing a chapeng, but we could not make out their movements, since it was a coal-black night there being no moon. We sat down, and the husband of one of the women of the house brought us a mat, and also a small fire, and explained that the alus had arrived.

With the aid of the light, we could now make out the two women, Levagoman and [55] Tavelear who were seated in front of the doorway, and the other members of the household who were seated in the courtyard. The former was was a widow, in her late thirties, and the latter, her 'sister', a very beautiful woman in her early thirties, whose husband whom she had not seen for a year, had just returned from Woleae the previous day. Tavelear was obviously possessed. She was singing the chapeng in a tremulous voice, with a pronounced trebel, clapping her thighs to the rhythm of the music, and intermittently breaking into laughter and hysterical giggles. Her voice was quite hoarse, and at times was scarcely audible, so that she would sing in a falsetto. Throughout she was gay and 'happy', in a strange way. There is little doubt but that her behavior was hysterical. I had known her very well, having spent much time in her house observing her baby, and it was difficult for me to realize that this was Taveliar. Normally she is quiet, taciturn, not given to exaggerated movements of any kind. The contrast was glaring. This hysterical seizure lasted about fifteen minutes, after which, she passed out of it, singing along with the rest, but in her normal voice, and patently exhausted. (13)"

"13. [See following sheet for footnote 13.]"

"13. [Footnote 13, p. 55] It is interesting to speculate on the reasons for her posession. Her husband had just returned the day before from Woleae, where he had been living quite a long time. She had a suckling baby that could not yet walk, and intercourse is prohibited until the baby can walk. Now Tavelear has the reputation of being a sensuous woman, and Tom often remarked how difficult it had been to satisfy her sexually when he had had an affair with her. Now her husband had returned, she had been with him for two days, and could not yet have intercourse, which for her constituted a severe frustration. Her aroused sexual feelings that could not find a normal expression, were 'converted' or canalized into the hysterical seizure. This, of course, is in agreement with the psychoanalytic interpretation of conversion hysteria in general.

The dance she performed during the seizure lends credence to this interpretation. It was a most sensuous dance--her hips and thighs rolling and swaying to the weaving of her arms, in perfect sensuous rhythm. The atmosphere, Dr. Burrows and I agreed, seemed laden with sex."

28: Spiro--55 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776 Ifalik

"The alusengau, we have already observed, also live in the sky, at its southern extremity. They are the malevolent alus, and according to all informants, they are much more numerous than the benevolent alus. As far as I could determine there are no alusengau that correspond to the Alusiang, the high gods, who existed before the creation of man. Now since the alusengau are wicked, it follows that had there been no evil people there would be no alusengau. This means that the only alusengau are those who formerly were mortals. All natives agree that there are many more alusengau than alusemar, the implication being that there are more evil people than good, a point to which we shall have occasion to address ourselves later. It is also universally agreed that the incidence of women alusengau is much higher than that of men, and they are not only more numerous, but they are the most viscious.

Not all the alusengau, however, inhabit the sky. Some evil souls are directed to live in the ocean, about the reef, and these are known as alusetat, literally the alus of the ocean. The alusetat are, it is agreed, more evil than those who inhabit the sky. (14)"

"14. According to Freudian symbolism that the ocean, or water in general, is a female symbol, particularly a mother symbol. It is interesting to observe, therefore, that the female alus and the ocean alus are universally accepted as the most evil."

28: Spiro--56-57
116, 775, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-15
Ifalik

"There is a third category of *alusengau,* whose conceptualization is a point of disagreement between the chiefs and Arogeligar. Both agree that these are not the malevolent souls of the dead, that they originated independently, but that their creation is unknown. Arogeligar calls them *alusefalu,* literally, the *alus* of the ground or of the earth, who may take the form of pigs, dogs, or sparks. (15) The chiefs, on the other hand, termed them *alusliol,* and say that they inhabit the trees in the bush. *Alusefalu,* they claim, is the name of the chief of these *alusliol.* They also claim that should a person disobey the chiefs, or evade participation in communal work by remaining in the bush, these *alus* will cause him to become ill.

Aside from this minor disagreement, everyone agrees that all these *alusengau* have one primary aim--to cause illness. The *alusengau* are intrinsically evil, and delight in going bad, in causing illness. They cause illness indiscriminately, so that both the good and the evil suffer from their malevolence. These alus have a chief (16) who

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"15. Since neither pigs nor dogs are indigenous animals, this conception must be very recent.

16. His name is unknown, and it is well that it is. For if the people knew his name, they might call upon him unwittingly for medicine (confusing him with an alusemar) and instead of sending medicine he would send illness."

constantly incites his malevolent cohorts to make the people ill--for 'he only like bad', not that the others need his incitations, since they are all vicious, evil creatures, whose sole delight is in harming people by making them ill.

But the alusengau not only cause illness, they also 'give people bad', that is, they give people fight, steal, gossip. If no alus, people no do bad.' In other words, people are intrinsically good, and do evil only because of an external principle, a power or force outside of their own characters and personalities, who, as it were, controls them and leads them to evil deeds. Now, it is patent that we have a contradiction at this point. All evil is caused by the alusengau, since people themselves are intrinsically good. But at the creation of man there were no alusengau, and if the people are basically good, how did evil arise in the first place, since there were no alusengau in existence to incite it? This contradiction was answered by Arogeligar by referring to his story of Ligesges and Legubrielnialel. When the latter departed from Ifaluk, Ligesges no longer followed in her good ways, but began to do evil, and others followed her example. This, however, is an ad hoc interpretation, for actually these internal contradictions do not disturb the natives. They are not interested in Systematic Theology. (17)

There is another major contradiction inherent in this scheme, which serves to indicate how powerful the alusengau are taken to be. It is Aluelap who decides when a man is to die, with the agreement, according to one version of Solan. Yet the illness caused by the alusengau is usually fatal, and the victim dies, though not with the agreement of Aluelap, thus the alusengau are seen to be more powerful [57] than the high god himself. Arogeligar to whom I put this question answered by use of analogy. Just as some humans disobey the cheifs, so the alusengau may disobey Aluelap, a weak argument indeed. Again, however, I am not interested at this in the logic of the view, but in indicating how malicious and powerful these alus are conceived to be by the natives.

"17. The linguist will be interested in a bit of folk etymology. Tom pointed out, in the midst of this discussion, that the rat (ges) is named after Ligesges, because the rat steals food, which is the first crime she perpetrated."

28: Spiro--56-57
116, 775, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-4
Ifalik

It is to be remembered that nowhere in this system is there the western belief in reward and punishment. Life in the sky is but a persistence of this life, and the infliction of illness by an alus falls indiscriminately on good and bad alike. The concept of retribution is entirely foreign to native thought, so that when I asked why a man should do good since the alus will destroy both the good and the bad, my question was incomprehensible. Communication had ceased at that point, since the implied conclusion of my question was a complete non sequitir to the natives."

28: Spiro--57 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 775, 825 Ifalik

"The alusengau, it might be added, are also responsible for all dangerous and noxious creatures--they created the flies, mosquitos, sharks, etc."

28: Spiro--57 [2]   (1947-48) 1949   Woleaians-1-2
116, 776, 156, 753   Ifalik

"A culture that asserts the existence of imaginary beings will inevitably produce people who actually perceive those beings. Arogeligar has seen many alusenagau. I have already alluded to the woman who claimed that an alusengau threw stones at her. Tom, who is the most acculturated and most sophisticated of the natives, and who, as we shall see, expressed skepticism concerning the power of the alusemar, has no doubt that people see the alusengau. One morning, for example, he came to inform me that the night before, while he had been with me, his wife and adult son had heard an alus. They first heard his cane being dragged across the roof of their house, and later they heard someone walking about the house, and then spit. Though they were both very frightened, when they heard the steps again, they looked out, but the alus (for that is what they thought it was) was gone. I asked Tom if he had something (some medicine) to keep the alus away, and he had none. He wanted to know if I could protect myself if an alus should want to attack me, and I said I had. He asked me if I would give him my medicine, but I explained that only Americans could use it, and that if the alus should appear again, he should call me, and I would scare him away with my flashlight, since the alus, I told him, were frightened of the flashlights. In the late afternoon Tom came to our tent to remind me of my promise. The next morning when Tom came to see us I asked if the alus had come the night before, and he said it had not come, because it had heard him discussing the matter with me, and had been scared away.

28: Spiro--57 [2]
116, 776, 156, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Another time I noticed that Tom had moved into an uninhabited house in his courtyard. When I asked the reason he explained that he had dreamt of being chased by an alus, and therefore moved to the other house, as a precautionary measure. This, indeed, indicates strong fear in view of the fact that dreams are usually not interpreted as omens of the future, or as having any other significance."

28: Spiro--57 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 753 Ifalik

"The fear of the alus is indicated by abundant evidence. Linguistically it is of interest to note that the term alus, by itself, always refers to the alusengau, unless the context indicates a benevolent variety. The alus usually attack only at night, so that no one will venture out at night into the bush. The people remain within the village, and preferably within the courtyard, and if they must go out for some reason, they light a coconut torch, for they believe that the alus will shun the light. Furthermore, they cover their doorways with mats to keep out the devil."

28: Spiro--57-58
116, 513, 776, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Formerly the unmarried young men slept in the club houses or canoe houses. When I asked why this custom has been abandoned, they explained that there are only a few young men now, and that they are afraid of being attacked by the *alus*. [58]

One evening I was sitting in a canoe house with the young men, and I asked Talimera to bring some cigarettes for the boys from my tent. He was afraid to go alone because of the *alus*, and would consent to go only if I gave him my flashlight (which I had explained to him, too, was a prophylactic against the *alus*.)"

28: Spiro--58 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 157, 753 Ifalik

"Another important indication of the people's preoccupation with the *alus*, is the evidence from native phantasy life. The incidence of perception of *alus* in the Rorschach and TAT is very high, and the perception of the alus in the blots and pictures, is of course, sheer projection. The frequency of the alus in the children's drawings makes it one of the most favorite categories. Indeed it was the drawing of the *alus* by the children--the small children--that aroused my curiosity about the *alus* and their meaning to the people. Finally a large percentage of the dreams I collected were nightmares, in which an *alus* was about to attack the dreamer, at which point he awoke. The dreaming of the *alus* indicates as strongly as possible how deeply into the unconscious of the people the belief in, and fear of, the *alus* has struck.

On a more conscious level is the fear of the alus expressed in the Stewart Emotional Response Test. A significantly high percentage of people responded with *alus*, when asked to tell what arouses fear in them."

28: Spiro--58-59 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 -2
116, 753, 776, 184, 789 Ifalik

"It is believed that babies are especially vulnerable to the alus, so that they are liable to their attacks even in the daylight. Hence, a baby taken from its home will be covered with a cloth, so that an alus should not see it.

It is obvious from this discussion that we are dealing here with a profoundly significant belief in Ifaluk culture and personality alike. For no matter how conceptualized every person, without exception, lives in great fear of the alus, one ever expressed any skepticism concerning either their existence or their power. [sic] Now this lack of skepticism cannot be attributed solely to conditioning factors, or to the culture pattern, or the determinism of the collective representations, from which the savage cannot extricate himself, to employ the jargon of three alternative schools of thought. For if these factors were primarily responsible for the firmness of this belief, then the same lack of skepticism should prevail in the belief in the benevolent alus, the alusemar, and such is not the case, for here, the natives are entirely pragmatic in their approach, their belief being contingent upon the objective evidence of the aluseman's power. The only objective documentation I have for this assertion comes from Tom. Now it might be argued that his higher degree of acculturation accounts for his skepticism. But this is untenable for this acculturation did not induce any skepticism as regards the alusengau, and furthermore, despite his acculturation, Tom accepts without qualification the entire pattern of natives beliefs, practices, and attitudes.

28: Spiro--58-59 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 753, 776, 184, 789 Ifalik

Tom, in discussing the alusemar with me, remarked that, 'If god talk lie, people throw away.' That is should the alusemar promise to restore a man's health and not succeed he is discarded in favor of another.

On another occasion, we were waiting for the diagnosis and prognosis of the illness Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, by Arogeligar. After it was given, Tom said to me, 'I don't know; maybe that god talk true, maybe talk lie.'

Another point worth recording at this point is the natives' refusal to assign alus causality to events that are amenable to naturalistic interpretation. (18)"

"18. Malinowski's point made long ago (Science, Magic and Religion) that magical or supernatural techniques are employed by natives only in situations which are unpredictable, and which they cannot control applies in full on Ifaluk. Only where [59] naturalistic interpretations are unknown, or where risks are great, are supernatural techniques used, at biological crises, ocean voyages, tec. The paucity of magic on Ifaluk is in part explainable, therefore, by a relatively predicitable environment, so that not even in gardening, for example, are magical techniques used."

28: Spiro--59
116, 776, 753, 164

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"For example, the chiefs at one time were perplexed by the disappearance of a dish of rat poison given them by the navy, which they had set in a canoe house. I suggested that perhaps an alus had absconded with it. They all dismissed this interpretation as unlikely, and agreed with Tom that probably a dog or cat was responsible.

This brings us to the native classifications of disease, which we must describe before we can continue with our discussion of religion, since religion and medicine, as should be obvious now, are inextricable. There are three categories if illness (tamai): (1). Tamai-le-alusengau, illness caused by the alus. (2) Mesilipik or Mesen, diseases caused Mesilipik. (3) Luwegoba, diseases caused by the land."

28: Spiro--59 [2]
116, 755, 164

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"We shall examine the diseases, classified under tamai-le-alusengau and give a short description of the therapy employed. It should be remembered that in all these cases it is believed that the patient is a victim of an attack by the alusengau, in the form of a spirit possession, and the therapy consists of exorcising this alus.

(1). Maliel: This is an infrequent, but fatal illness. It is characterized by dizziness in the head. The patient is given medicine (19) after which his face is covered with a taro leaf, a small flame is held over the leaf, and a chapeng is sung. (20)

(2) Tamai-le-tagurul: This is frequent, but not fatal. It is a very sore back, preventing the person from rising. Medicine of herbs is heated very hot, and is held over his

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"19. All medicine consists of herbs or leaves of specified plants, which are stirred into water or coconut juice, and consumed by the patient. Unfortunately, I did not collect the names of these plants.

20. The chapengs for all the illnesses will follow the complete catalogue of disease."

back. This treatment is given morning and afternoon, and is preceeded by a *chapeng.*

(3). *Metageserae:* This is relatively frequent and fatal. It consists of pains in the stomach. (21) The patient is given medicine to drink, and a chapeng is sung, while the healer waves a cocopalm over the patient.

(4) *Imailolo:* Continuous vomiting. This is neither frequent nor fatal, and is cured by the consumption of medicine.

(5) *Metageleperei:* This is a sore leg, which is neither frequent nor fatal, and is treated by placing medicine on the leg.

(6) *Mesatat:* This is relatively frequent, (about the same as 3), and is fatal. It is a form of sea-sickness. The patient is given medicine to drink, a chapeng is sung, while the healer waves a coconut palm over the patient."

"21. Stomach pains cover a multitude of disease entities, and unquestionably include ruptured appendix, from which two of the four deaths we witnessed were caused."

28: Spiro--60 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 753, 164 Ifalik

"In the category of diseases caused by the alus are three others, but they are classified separately from the six enumerated above, for these six are fatal, and the others are not. That is, my indication of fatality means that despite treatment a high percentage of the patients will die, though some are cured by the therapy. Were the healer not to perform the cure, they would all die. The others caused by the alus are not fatal, even if the cure were not to be applied. These are a broken bone (ebung), which is set, and a cut (kopitok) on which I have no information. While we were on Ifaluk, all bruises and cuts--and there were many--were brought to us."

28: Spiro--60 [2]
116, 164, 158, 732

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Finally, the alus are responsible for an incurable disease, the malebush, which includes both abnormal and subnormal mentalfunctioning. There were four cases of feeble-mindedness--all in children--and three of abnormality, both schizophrenics-- one paranoid, and one simplex, and a neurotic suffering from agorophobia. Aside from the classification of both the mentally-ill and the mentally-deficient together, it is of interest that the natives classified these cases as aberrant types. The feeble-minded children and the paranoid schizophrenic were possessed by an alusetat, whereas the simple schizophrenic was possessed by the alusefalu. Finally, the agorophobic was possessed by one of the sky alusengau. Unlike the other cases, malebush has no cure."

28: Spiro--60 [3]
116, 164, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-1
Ifalik

"The second category of disease comprises those caused by Meselipik. Now Meselipik is a difficult concept to delineate. I don't know whether to refer to Meselipik is 'all same cold', so that those illnesses characterized by chills or fevers are caused by Meselipik. As far as I can determine Meselipik is the personification of chills. His origin or creation is unknown, but he is conceived as subsisting between the islands, and carries illness from other islands to Ifaluk on the winds. He is responsible for four illnesses, all of them infrequent, and all fatal. These are:

(1). Ikolevo: Severe chills, cured by the drinking of medicine.

(2) Izamezelibwex: Intense fever, cured by the drinking of medicine.

(3). Mazetra: Blood in the faeces, probably amoebic dysentary. He is cured by the consumption of medicine, and the singing of the chapeng, while the coconut palm is waved over him.

(4). Gilicha: This characterized by red spots covering the body, cured by the consumption of medicine.

The third category of disease is Luegoba, in which are subsumed all skin diseases, yaws, gangosa, leprosy, which are not fatal, and for which there is no cure. These are caused by the land, that is, by dirt. (22)

The chapeng for the various diseases follow. These chapeng can best be translated by incantation, as opposed to some others, which are hymns."

"22. A question of great importance, on which the record seems quite clear, is sorcery. Sorcery does not exist, the very concept being foreign to the people. Why should a person desire another's death, and even if he did, how could he achieve his ends? The natives were baffled. Yet, Tom told me that in the past, men could invoke the aid of an alus to bring about someone's death. These were 'very bad man. Plenty house no more people now. (that is, their death's were caused by these sorcerers.). Now, no man savvy.' This may have been a personal belief of Tom's that he had picked up in his travels, and I am inclined to think so, since no amount of research elicited anything but incredulity concerning sorcery."

28: Spiro--60-61 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 157, 761 Ifalik

"On the other hand death wishes do exist, as the TAT reveals. A great number of people perceived the human figures in the pictures as dead. This of course, is not [61] the only possible interpretation of such perception. Dead people may not only be hostile death wishes, but may be personal identifications of the people with innert, lifeless, people, as projections of their own inner psychic life. This will bear much scrutiny before a final conclusion is drawn. Apriori, I suspect, that both are operative here, depending upon the person.

In either event it would be important to know whether the people harbor death wishes against others. My field work, on this point, was sloppy, indeed. I have one notation in my field notes, dated one month after our arrival, in which Tom had informed me that if a man harbors death wishes against another, a benevolent alus will punish him by retaliating in kind. This note was tucked away in the corpus of field notes, and forgotten. I have no idea, therefore, whether this is a personal or a cultural belief, nor what the incidence of such phantasies are, nor, if this is a cultural belief, how many deaths are attributed to this fact."

28: Spiro--61 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 756 Ifalik

"Where therapeutic care is indicated, the procedure is as follows. Usually Arogeligar is called to diagnose the illness and its cause and to prescribe the cure. He then performs the healing. If his cure is not efficacious, others will attempt to cure the victim by means of medicine they learned in their family. Arogeligar, though the chief healer is not the only one who can perform the healing ceremonies. If others know the technique, they are permitted to do so, though they are few in number, so that in the case of the illness of Navor, her mother's brother, Mariligar, the second ranking chief, performed the ceremony."

28: Spiro--61-63 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-5
116, 755 Ifalik

But before continuing the theoretical discussion, it may be well to describe one or two concrete cases. Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, had been ill for about a month, and from the symptoms, it seemed like amoebic dysentary to us. Arogeligar and others brought him medicine, but to no avail, from which it was inferred that this was a serious illness, that required a chapeng and special medicine. (23)

Later that afternoon, as I was walking towards the house of Paluelimar to bring him some medicine, I met Arogeligar. He said he would perform a ceremony that evening for Paluelimar, and invited me to witness it. (24)

"23. A few days before the ceremony Arogeligar had met Dr. Burrows, and asked him if we had any medicine to give to Paluelimar. This, of course, is significant--the chief healer asking the strangers for medicine. It indicates among other things the unsureness, even on the part of the expert, concerning the efficacy of the alusemar, and their curing powers.

24. All medicine ceremonies are held in the evening. The natives explain that it is taboo to do any work immediately after the ceremony, so that if it were held in the day, the participants would have to remain inactive for the rest of the day. But this strikes me as a feeble attempt to offer a rational explanation for an irrational phenomenon, though I cannot suggest a better one."

28: Spiro--61-63 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 755 Ifalik

After the men had collected their toddy, the ceremony began. Paluelimar is a chief, so that the entire courtyard was filled with people, sitting around the house. The entire district of Felarik, with few exceptions, and all his kin from the other districts were in attendance. In the center of the stage were Arogeligar and two male assistants. Arogeligar had a *marmar* on his head, a women's belt across one shoulder, extending in front of his chest, a cotton ball in his hair, in which were placed two white chicken feathers, and a *tria* comb in his hair. On his right wrist was a coconut leaf strip, and of course, his face was painted. [62]

A mat was set just outside the doorway, for Paluelimar to sit on, and Arogeligar thrust some coconut branches into this mat prior to the exit of Paluelimar.

When Paluelimar came out, he sat on the mat, and Arogeligar placed four coconuts all clinging to one stem in front of him. There was no talking of any kind, and a hush had fallen over the people. Arogeligar picked up a long coconut palm, and approached Paluelimar, reciting a *chapeng* in muted tones, while alternately striking the four coconuts, and bringing the palm back over his shoulder. When the *chapeng* was completed, he swept the palm horizontally from one shoulder blade to the other in rapid succession several times. He then picked one coconut from the stem, and holding it over the head of Paluelimar, cut an incision in it with a wooden knife (25). and after several strokes of the incision, he plunged the knife into the coconut with a deft movement of the wrist. The coconut water spilled on to Paluelimar's head, and as it was falling Arogeligar sprinkled it over the heads of those sitting in the immediate vicinity. This 'medicine' has not only a therapeutic value, but a prophylactic one as well, so that parents sat with young infants in their arms, close to Paluelimar so that the infants could receive it. When the coconut was dry, he held it in his left hand, and cast it over his right shoulder,

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"25. The natives all have steel knives, and never use wooden knives, nor had I ever seen a wooden knife previously. This is an interesting point for the student of acculturation with respect to differentials in the degree of acceptance and resistance of foreign objects. Despite the greater physical efficiency of the steel knife, the wooden one is used for this ceremony, and the small shell, rather than a steel knife, is still used to sever the baby's umbilicus. In other words, those areas of culture which are imbued with mysterious connotations, in which the element of danger and unpredictability are strong, are most resistant to acculturation. Whether this is a valid generalization for other cultures, I don't know, but there is no question of its applicability to Ifaluk."

leaving it lay where it fell, without watching to see where it landed. The identical proceedure was repeated with a second coconut.

Arogeligar then took a small twig of a palm branch, smoothed back the hair of Paluelimar, which was dripping with the coconut water; after which Paluelimar reentered the house. Tobacco, belonging to Paluelimar, was then passed among the people, while Arogeligar rubbed paint into the incisions in the coconuts, which remained where they had fallen, and were not moved. He then went into the house to sing a chapeng, and the people were informed to return the following morning for the conclusion of the ceremony.

The people assembled the following morning at dawn. Arogeligar repeated the coconut ceremony with the two remaining nuts. He then could make his diagnosis, which follows from the configurations of the paint in the incisions. After reading these configurations he announced his diagnosis. The illness was caused by two alus. An alusengau of Paluelimar's parental home (Vwenau) (26), was the main cause, with [63] the

"26. Unlike the alusemar, each house does not have its own alusengau, for the latter attack indiscriminately. However, there are cases, in which a great number of people of one household suddenly [sic], in which case it is inferred that the deaths are caused by the alusengau of this lineage, and the people abandon the house and build a new one. Now this happened to be the case here. Paluelimar's lineage house (Vwenau) had been abandoned because of the sudden deaths of a number of its members, so that it is known that alusengau of his lineage are particularly vicious."

28: Spiro--61-63 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-5
116, 755 Ifalik

assistance of an *alusetat.*

This ceremony, like all ceremonies, was followed in the late afternoon by a feast, partially provided by Paluelimar, most of it brought by the assembled people, each household eating its own food.

Thus we see that the diagnosis of the illness is simple, merely being an identification of the symptoms. The diagnosis of the cause, however, involves the ceremony just described. But this ceremony is not only of diagnostic value, but is therapeutic as well, the coconut juice becoming medicine after the *chapeng* recited by Arogeligar.

All those who had participated in the ceremony were under the taboo of not working. The taboo is removed by the partaking of food at the feast.

The members of the lineage, however, may not work for four days."

28: Spiro--63-64 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-J
116, 755 Ifalik

"In case of a protracted illness, the members of the person's immediate family do not cut their hair. The person, himself, may not have his food cooked from the family fire, but has it cooked on a separate fire. It is taboo, also, for a person who is well, to eat food prepared on the fire of a sick person.

The patient is visited every day by various kin who come to talk, to bring food or to help around the house. The women gather at the house in the day, but in the evening the men and children join them, and they merely sit about, talking in modulated tones, but offering no consolation or commiseration with the victim. If the person is seriously ill, and there is a strong possibility of death, the kind alternate in sleeping in the house of the victim, or in the house adjacent to it. The natives say that they do this to keep abreast of the condition of the one who is sick. Whatever the reason, the practice was followed every night after the medicine ceremony for Paluelimar, and again for the person, whose ceremony is to be described below.

Navor, the daughter of a deceased chief, a married woman, and mother of five children, complained of pains in her stomach, which were diagnosed as metageserai and which, in this case, was probably a ruptured appendix. Various people brought her medicine, Arogeligar recited the proper chapeng, all to no avail. She was then moved from her house to the house of kin on the other island. This is a common proceedure. It is believed that the alus might depart if the patient is moved from his own house. But her condition did not improve, and a number of ceremonies were conducted for her. She was then moved to another house, and a four day ceremony was held, the same kind that was later performed and which I witnessed. Later, when her condition was thought to be very grave, she was moved to her own house, the custom being that a person should die in his own lineage house. A few days after her return home, the ceremony for metageserai was performed, in which Maroligar officiated. The ceremony was repeated on four successive nights. It is held inside the house, and all the kin of the person and the kin of the spouse are in attendance, at least on one of the four nights. The immediate family participates on all nights. Maroligar wore a strip of green coconut branch about his neck, and a cotton headdress in his hair. In his right hand, he held the medicine, which was comprised of herbs enclosed in coconut bark, attached to a coconut branch. Before beginning the chapeng, he dipped medicine in some water, and had Navor drink from it as he squeezed it into her mouth. He then began the chapeng, assisted by the assembled people, while he waved the medicine bundle over the patient, who lay prostrate before him. The motion is really a throwing motion, as if he were to throw a spear. He clasps the medicine over his shoulder, and then shoots it out over the patient, circling it constantly over for the duration of a line of the chapeng, then he returns it over his shoulder, and shoots it out again for a new line. At the end of each stanza, he

28: Spiro--63-64 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 755 Ifalik

dipped it into the water, sprinkled some on the chest of the patient, and then began the next stanza, repeating the same movements. When the *chapeng* was finished, there was an intermission of about fifteen minutes, and then it was repeated in its entirety. At the [64] completion Maroligar distributed tobacco to all present, and then they sang some general *chapengs*.

These ceremonies are very eerie, solemn, and profoundly impressive in a weird sense. The house is illuminated by a single flame of a candle, casting its shadows in fantastic forms about the house, while the atonal music, and the words of the *chapeng* cast a never-to-be-forgotten spell on the observer. The people were all solemn, no one talking or laughing, and the mood of the adults permeated to the children, for they were quiet throughout the entire proceedings, which is rare indeed for them.

After the ceremony there is talking and laughing, though in subdued tones.

The reaction of the patient to this ceremony is not known, but one could venture the guess that it does not improve her morale, to say the least. The *chapeng* reminds her of her possible death, the severity of her illness, and of her possession by an *alus*, the latter being a terrifying thought."

28: Spiro--64 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 755, 574 Ifalik

"The afternoon following this ceremony was the occasion for the usual feast. The men went fishing in the morning and the women prepared taro, and again each family brought its own food, consuming it at the house of Navor. Of course, only those who had participated in the ceremonies came to the feast. The people were dressed in their finest--the women wore their new lavalavas, and the men and women both had painted faces. Every one was solemn and very quiet and talk was hushed and low. This insistence on silence at these feasts results in the only attempt I know of to curb the free expression of children. A mother will slap her child's hand, or put her hand over its mouth if he should persist in speaking loudly. This training apparently is quite effective, since the adults conform to this practice of silence without exception. After completing their meals, the people departed one by one, though not before Arogeligar had distributed the cigarettes that we had brought to Maroligar, and had made a humorous speech."

28: Spiro--64 [2]　　(1947-48) 1949　　Woleaians
116, 755, 613, 784　　Ifalik

"Aside from these important curing ceremonies, there are medicine ceremonies for the ill, in which only the lineage participates. They are held in the house of the sick person, and the house is taboo to any one but the participants.

There are other taboos associated with the making or consumption of medicine. After making medicine from herbs, there are periods of isolation, ranging from a day to a month--depending upon the nature of the medicine--during which time the person neither sleeps in his house, nor eats of its food.

The consumption of a certain medicine creates the taboo on eating food cooked on a fire of breadfruit wood, or taking a light from a breadfruit-punk fire."

28: Spiro--64-65
116, 755, 771, 787, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"This association of religion and medicine is found not only in the healing of individuals but also in the group or public ceremonies and rituals. The public ceremonies are all medicine ceremonies, in which medicine is made and consumed immediately as a prophylactic against future illness, and in which the alusemar are invoked to protect the people from illness. Though other Alus are involved, it is Tilitr that plays the important role in these ceremonies. Tilitr is difficult to conceptualize in terms of our two categories of alusemar, for he is really intermediate in rank between them, being neither in the pantheon, nor having ever been mortal. He lives in Fatuma, with the royal family of alus, but descends to Ifaluk frequently, particularly at the public ceremonies when he is invoked, and then returns to Aluelap to report to him. Tilitr, as has already been indicated, is the patron saint of Ifaluk, protecting them from evil and from illness. (27)" [65]

"27. Tilitr predicted an American victory in the war. The natives, of course, knew of the war because of the airplanes which flew over-head, because the Japanese had told them of the war, and because Ifaluk young men had been on Yap during the American bombardment of the island. During the war Tilitr had told Arogeligar that the Americans would win, and that he (Tilitr) would assist them. He also had told him that the Americans were a fine people, that they had 'very fine head, very fine stomach,' and that the Ifaluk head and stomach were small, by comparison."

28: Spiro--65 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 346, 778 Ifalik

"Though Tilitr dwells in Fatuma, he and his sons have shrines on Ifaluk, to which they often descend.. Of the eight shrines, seven are for Tilitr or his sons. (28)"

"28. [See following sheet for footnote 28.]"

28: Spiro--65 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 346, 778 Ifalik

"28. [Footnote p. 65] There is one shrine in Felarik, *Bwutaliwenol*, in the lineage house of Nuteitei for the son of *Tilitr*, *Wuluaro*. In Rauau, there are two shrines: *Bwuter Tilitr*, the shrine of *Tilitr*, which is inside the public house, the *fanap* of *Atelu*, and *Bwuter Tiliwetan*, the shrine of *Tiliwetan*, a son of *Tilitr*, that is in the courtyard of the lineage of the Uelepi house. There are four shrines in Falalap: *Bwuter Talewearo*, a son of *Solal*, and *Bwuter Tilitr*. Except for two of these, the shrines are merely circular mounds of white, smooth sand, surrounded on its circumference by rocks, with a medicine plant or two in the center. In case of illness, tobacco or even lavalavas may be offered to the *alus* to help exorice the *alusengau*. The shrines are made of sand because *Tilitr* does not like place 'all same wet and stink', which is the earth. He likes only dry and clean places.

The main shrine is Bwuter *Tiltitr* in Falalap, for here all the major ceremonies are held. It, too, is a shrine of sand, but in addition has four upright sticks, which represent Aluelap; Lugeiligg, his son; Olophat, his grandson; and Tilitr.

Bwuter Tilitr in Rauau is in the *fanap*, and is a platform, with sides about a foot high, on which are placed tobacco, and from its upright poles always hang offerings of lavalavs.

In Falalap one shrine is a small model house, in which hang offerings of lavalavas."

28: Spiro--65 [2]
116, 796, 805

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Having neither calendars, nor formal reckoning of time, religious ceremonies are not held at regularly defined intervals, but are called by the chief at the suggestion of Arogeligar, when he feels the time is propitious."

28: Spiro--65-66 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1
116, 755 Ifalik

"The first ceremony we witnessed, a medicine making ceremony, is called only at the command of Tilitr himself. (The chiefs say, Lugeiling.) An inhabitant of the dwelling in whose courtyard is the Bwuter Tilitr on Falalap is possessed by Tilitr, who informs him that the ceremony should be held. In this case a very old man, completely disabled, was possessed, and the two day ceremony was called and held on September 19-20.

The ceremony started in mid-morning, and as we approached the Bwuter Tiltr, men and women were seated around the sand shrine, singing a chapeng, and pulling a rope of grass back and forth around the circumference of the sand. From the house, in whose courtyard the ceremony was to take place, the old man who had been possessed was still uttering unintelligible sounds, and at times would burst into song with the people outside.

At the same time other people were assembling, and on one side of the court, [66] a number of young men were husking huge quantities of coconuts. When all the people had arrived, the ceremony began. It is to be understood, of course, that every one attends these ceremonies, so that the entire population was congregated within the courtyard, sitting about the shrine, facing it, men and women sitting apart. The people were 'dressed up' in their lion cloths and skirts. They were all quiet during the ceremony some exhibiting a very profound reverence. Even the children were quiet desisting from the usual horseplay. Arogeligar, the officiating priest, then gave orders to make the medicine and the young men, who had husked the coconuts, opened them, permitting their juice to run into two large metal vats. When this was completed, the angorik and warung (or maybe other plants, I'm not sure) were mixed into the coconut juice to form the medicine. Arogeligar then sprinkled this medicine on the people, in all four directions. The young men, then passed out coconut shells to the people, filled with the medicine, which they drank. The medicine had a very pleasant ginger taste, given it by the plant.

When the medicine had been consumed, a young man, one of Arogeligar's assistants, stood in the midst of the assembly, and sang a chapeng, while waving two of the medicine plants to and fro. He then sat down, took a branch of the same plant, dipped it in the medicine, and as people gathered about him, he sang the next verse of the chapeng, while circling the branch around his head, continuing this until the verse was completed; whereupon he dipped the branch in the medicine once again, and went on to the next verse.

When the chapeng was completed, the ceremony was over. Now the people all joined in the farewell to the alus, which ends all religious ceremonies. It is shouted in a shrill kind of stocatto, rising to a crescendo at the tayokidis at the end, and ending with a trilled whistle."

28: Spiro--66
116, 533, 755, 868

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The chapeng chanted at the ceremony [WPM: see p. 65] was taught to Arogeligar by Tilitr, who in turn taught it to the people. The farewell chant was taught to Arogeligar by Aluelap. The vocabulary as well as construction is unusual, the people understanding very little of it, so that Tom had to ask Arogeligar to interpret the words to him, before he could translate them for me."

28: Spiro--66-69
116, 539

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1 -10
Ifalik

"The following chapeng is the song sung at the ceremony that we witnessed in September, the two day affair. It is in the nature of an invocation. The text was collected by Dr. Burrows and the translation is his.

I

Nite-it is nite now.
Today when morning comes
the god Tilitc will talk to us all.
Hearken, people of high or low degree!
I was sent to listen to your talk.
I have come and found that all is well.
First I was sent down
to the chief of the nether world
to learn his bidding and ask his help.
He will look after you,
so will my son Tilital.

The coming of the god delights the people,
they gather to see the man he possessed.

28: Spiro--66-69 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 539 Ifalik

First the god speaks from the housetop,
calls to the people to wake. [67]
They all rise from their mats when day is dawning,
when the sky is growing bright
Eager to hear what the god has to say.
All long to hear the words of the god.
When the sun is past the zenith
all the women gather flowers
Bring ritri flowers to the shrine.
If any fail in this they may sicken,
All will suffer unless they come.
Tilitc and Tilital.

Pelele and Laliaro did
not heed the god's words and fell sick;
He cured them by giving them new names.
He wants an end of all evil talk.

28: Spiro--66-69 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 539 Ifalik

II

We are all weary waiting for the god.
'What nite is he going to come?
He has not yet appeared.
As they sing to him, the people grow afraid.

Tilitc and his son are like the wind.
When any of our people are lost at sea,
Rain or shine they go to find them,
Search the seas for the canoe.
If they do not find it in one direction they try another.
At last they find the castaways.

He comes down from Lengilialo
Back from his search comes the god.
The men want to sing for him;
All rejoice at his coming
Down from Lengilialo.

He tells the women to dance for him.
All the people rejoice together.

III

He leaves his home in the sky
To come to us here on earth,
Coming along the road of the gods.
He finds us obedient to his commands.
He sees a fire, hears someone singing to him in the nite.
His son Tilalo comes with him.

Listen all you people!
If you do not heed what the god says
Sauteti and Saurek will come after you!
The god comes to frighten them away.
When he appears they scurry off.
The god's sister, Leurulalo, asks him to help us.

'You have my word,' he told her.

IV

Our chief remembers well what the god said,
When he appeared before all the people. [68]
The chief praises Tilitc,
In words well pleasing to the god.
Praises him and divine family.
The chief thanks the god and bids him farewell.
Now we will experience happy days.

He roams over all the islands,
All the length of the Carolines.
He visits Truk and Yap
To see that people behave as they should.
He watches over our boys working (for the Japanese) at Yap.
And all the length of the Carolines,
He gazes about as through a telescope.

He can see everywhere.
He has not come back from his voyage.

He goes to visit Europe,
Goes all about that continent.
Long he looks about their [sic]
like a curious traveler
To see what they are doing, what the fighting is about.
Then he leaves that land and comes back to us.
'The war will soon be over now.
'The end of the fighting is near.
'Do not be afraid any more
'Soon the Americans will come.
'All you women and children who brought me flowers,
Fear no more.

V

The god is resting in Langiliolu
At his house Ngiligejap.

28: Spiro--66-69
116, 539

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-7
Ifalik

The people want to invoke him,
how many moons before he comes?
They come to his earthly house
All the people of this island,
Waiting to hear his word.
If he comes, he will summon them.
A woman brings flowers
To bedeck the rod on his shrine.
The long leafy branch of aro
is dipped and twirled in time to the song,
The aro that gives health.

The god came down from Langiliolu
To tell us to make medicine
So that nobody would be sick.
He said, 'Since you heed me, you will thrive this month.
All are healthy and wise while he is here.
They heed well his words.

28: Spiro--66-69 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-8
116, 539 Ifalik

The flower for the god is the warong
Tilitc give us your benediciton.
He goes to find a blessing for us,
Finds some gift to bring us.
Far and wide he roams in search of a blessing.
Some do not understand,
Do you know what a gift he will bring.
Whatever is good in distant lands he will bring us. [69]
He travels like a wind.
He goes to find all lost mariners.
He has little time to linger here.
He must travel about like a wind,
The wind that blows on lost sailors,
The wind that blows them home.
He watches over sailors far from home.

Like a great sea bird
He flies over the canoemen

Ramale and Tilvwemeau.

'Do you know where your course lies?
'You are going astray, you will drift off.'
They thank him for coming to save them,
Iletigi and Ilearo. (the women in the canoe with the men above).

The farewell is to Aluelap, Lugeiling, Wolphat, Solal and Tilitr.

Good-by now, good-morning my chief, good-morning my chief.
(addressed to Solal)
Good-by, oh my chief, who dwells in the heavens.
(addressed to Aluelpa)
Good-by, good-by,
I return, and the people depart, good-by, good-by, good-by.
(this spoken by Tilitr, who continues)
I am lonesome for my chief (Aluelpa), for he is my mentor,
my protector.
Depart. Your chief is weary, he has descended to the earth,

But no mortal has come.
(Tilior to Tilitr)
Descend, you descended to Ifaluk, and protect its people
and its chiefs, (Aluelap to Tilitr)
Protect them from the arms of the Americans and of the
Japanese,
Instruct your people to make flower garlands, and to
place them on your alter.
It is finished,
It is finished."

28: Spiro--69-70
116, 755

(1947-4[illegible] 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"With the farewell, the morning ceremony was over [WPM: see p. 65] and the people returned to their homes. In the afternoon, they reassembled, the sexes again sitting apart. Arogeligar's assistants each took a plant, soaked it in the coconut juice remaining from the morning, and then squeezed it out into individual coconut shells, to be consumed shortly. They then jerked their arms over their heads in a precipitate movement, so that the juice was sprinkled onto the people sitting around them.

One of the officiators then dipped a branch of the plant into the medicine, and accompanied by two other officiators, he chanted a chapeng while revolving the branch about his head in a clockwise direction. He then dipped the branch into the medicine, and revolved it in a counter-clockwise direction. When he finished, the farewell hymn was sung, ending the ceremony proper. [70]

The medicine was then distributed among the people, first giving some to Dr. Burrows and myself, and then to the natives. The medicine had an oily texture, and tasted like a western laxative.

While this medicine was being distributed, Arogeligar lighted four cigarettes, and placed them in the sand of the shrine, as offerings to the alus. He then sat immersed in meditation, looking up towards the sky at intervals.

When the medicine was consumed, tobacco was distributed among the people, and Arogeligar made a speech exhorting the people to obey the chiefs, and to obey Dr. Burrows and me."

28: Spiro--70 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 755, 784, 462, 778 Ifalik

"The people returned to their homes, work and sexual relations being taboo. The next day there was to be a feast, and that night the men went fishing after the appearance of the moon. The next morning the men resumed their fishing, while the women prepared taro and breadfruit. (Dr. Burrows and I contributed two tines of beef). It was not until late afternoon that we started for Falalap. As we approached we saw the women sitting around the shrine singing, while making garlands. The possessed man was still semi-delirious and would break into song at unpredicable intervals.

The shrine was then completely encircled by garlands, after which others were distributed among all the people assembled. Arogeligar announced that the alus had informed him that the American visitors were very fine men, and that they should receive garlands.

The chiefs then gave their permission to begin eating. This time, the sexes were not spearated, because the people sat in family groups, except for the chiefs who ate together with the ethnographers. At the conclusion of the meal, the people disbanded and returned to their homes."

28: Spiro--70-71
116, 755, 535, 292

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Shortly after this ceremony, Arogeligar announced a forthcoming medicine-dance. Tilitr had possessed him and informed him that a medicine dance should be held, for if it were not, illness would descend on the people. After a two week preparation the dance was held on October 9. Like the other religious ceremonies devoted to health, this one has a dual function; it serves to protect the healthy from disease, and it has therapeutic effect on those who are ill. The dance was held at Bwuter Tilitr, on Falalap, and the people were decorously dressed with flower wreaths, painted faces, and headdresses of cotton batton in which were fastened white chicken feathers. The dance was in two parts, one of the men, and one of the women. In either case, the dancers sat in a row facing the onlookers.

The men assumed quasi-feminine garb for this occasion. They wore skirts made of coconut branches, over their loin cloths, and they wore the shell belts worn by the women. Arogeligar, of course, was in charge of this dance, whose participants--young men and boys--had been practicing almost two weeks.

The dance is performed sitting, the dancers accompanying themselves with songs. The dance involves only the movement of the arms and of the torso, in which the arms are extended in front of the body at face level, the hands are weaved and saved, then the arms are flexed and the hands gesture towards the body in an enfolding movement, culminating in a clapping of the biceps as arms corss. Both the men's and women's dances were the same, the women taking over when the men finished.

An interesting sidelight in both dances was the little 'game' played by Wolpatau, the first ranking chief. He walked behind the dancers cigarettes in hand, and held [71] some cigarettes over the head of a dancer while blowing his whistle. Any member of the dancer's lineage could seize the cigarettes from his hand. This produced much laughter and excitement, which contrasted with the seriousness of the dance and its serious intent.

When the dancing was completed, the usual distribution of coconuts by household [sic] followed. Following the consumption of the coconuts, Taroman presented Tilitr with a new lavalava, which was placed on the shrine. Speeches by Arogeligar, Taroman, and Wolptau followed, all stressing the same points, to obey the chiefs and to be good. The chiefs then distributed their tobacco to the people, again by households.

On a whole the ceremony gave the impression of lethargy. It seemed to lack energy, interest, or vitality. The men showed greater animation than the women, but they had the volatile Arogeligar to provide them with stimulus."

28: Spiro--71
116, 755, 796

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"No ceremony was held for over a month and a half. On November 27, a minor ceremony was held in the late morning, but only the people of the Felarik district were in attendance. It was held, as usual, at *bwuter Tilitr*. When we arrived, we saw the alter surrounded by red and white colored *maramar*, which were distributed among the people, each receiving at least one of each color. Arogeligar then made a speech addressed to the chiefs telling them that they must ensure better care of the shrine. He then announced a medicine making ceremony for the following day, and told the women to prepare the *times*, which we shall explain below. The people then gathered about the shrine to say the traditional farewell.

The women retired to prepare the *times*. The *times* are coconut mats, made of young coconut branches, which the young men hang on trees along the shores, encircling both islands. Before they are hung on the trees, five men sing a ritual song over them. The words of the song cling to the *Times*, and as they sway in the breeze the words are automatically repeated over and over again. The people, of course, cannot hear the words, but the *alus* and illness can, and when they attempt to enter the islands and cause illness, they are frightened by the song, and do not enter. *Times*, therefore, may very well be a contraction of *itoae mas*, 'not die'."

"The name of this song is Aluselitimes, and is traditional.
Sickness and devils: Depart, depart
Depart from this island of Ifaluk,
Depart.
Cease! all illness that comes to these shores.
Depart Maselepi and Tria.
Do not enter, Nesuaregeruch,
Oh you mighty devil.
If you come, be you thwarted.

(Maselepi seems to be the common cold.
Tria is a slight illness that comes to
those who do not excuse themselves when
they walk above those who are sitting.)

If you bring illness, may it
be turned away. (nesuaregeruch is a devil).
Depart Nesuaregeruch, Mesuanepelap. (Two devils)
May illness visit us not in the future.
If, you come, you will surely die.
Come not, you cough,
for if you come, the tarewa will devour you. (Tarewa is a big fish)
Oh you illness, come not directly, but be deflected from your
course, as a drunken man.
If you come, Times will rise, and you will be thrust aside.

28: Spiro--71-72 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 539 Ifalik

Come not on top of our houses.
If the devil comes, he will surely stumble.
If illness comes, Times will surely protect us.
The mouth of Maselipik shall not open. (to eat people, or give them illness).
If illness comes, I hover over the men, and the illness will
depart [72]
I turn to the gods, I sing their
song, they will surely
remove the illness.
Oh, wave, and remove the illness.
People will not die, they will not
be cast into the ocean.

(When a man is ill, Arogeligar drives out the illness by waving a coconut leaf over him. The Times serves this function for the entire population).

The ill will not die. They will remain here as does the ground.
If illness comes, it cannot prevail.
If illness comes, my song will encircle me, and protect me.
(the song is like a magic circle,
protecting those inside it)
If I take ill, the god will come to me.

28: Spiro--71-72
116, 539

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-3
Ifalik

Myriads of illnesses will not enter me.
Many illnesses will not prevail against me, for my song protects me.
If a man should fall sick, he shall not succumb.
The god will protect me.
He will protect me as a barricade against the illness.
Go! (says the god to the illness)
Illness will not see you.
Do not enter that man.
Do not enter. Do not enter.
You are not powerful.
You, you, you (to the devil)
enter not, enter not.
Enter and die. (The song of the times will kill the devil).
These people will not die, nor will they ascend to the heavens."

28: Spiro--72 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 755, 539 Ifalik

"The following day, after the times had been hung by the young men, the ceremony was held. This time it was not held at bwuter Tilitr, but near the small club-house in Falalap across the channel from Felarik. Coconut juice was poured into the cauldron, as before, and angorik was added to it. This medicine was then passed among the people in coconut shells, after which the young men gathered about the cauldron, and chanted the following chapeng, which ended the ceremony.

My arm has made this medicine, hot as fire, to ward off illness
My medicine is hot as fire, those who drink will not fall ill
My arm is hot as fire.
My medicine is hot. Illness will not come.
My medicine is very hot. It descends into the oceans. It is very hot.
My medicine is very hot, it descends into the waters, it ascends into the heavens.
(the point being that Aluelap finally puts it into the cauldron).
Drink of this medicine, and be well.
Drink, and live.
This is the medicine of Tilitc. (At this point it is stirred)
Tilewetan has given it its healing powers.
Depart, you devils,

28: Spiro--72 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 755, 539 Ifalik

Depart and sleep under the sands.
Depart, Depart!
Depart, Depart!
Depart, you devils of the reef,
Depart you devils of the reef.
Depart, depart!
Sleep!

This is a traditional song, called Sisitenitavei--lit., 'place medicine in the cauldron and sing'"

28: Spiro--73 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-3
116, 428, 756, 158 Ifalik

"The person, who has figured so prominently in these ceremonies, Arogeligar, is the tamon alusuia, leader for (matters concerning) the alus. The tamon alusuia is the religio-medical specialist, but like the other specialists he devotes only part of his time to his specialty, since he assumes the same economic responsibilities as the other men. The office of tamon alusuia is inherited patrilineally, it being passed on from the incumbent to any male relative in his patrilineal line, so that Arogeligar succeeded his father's brother to the office. But descent is not sufficient, for a successor must be designated by Tilitr in a state of possession for the office. The incumbent in the office appoints a male relative as his successor upon the request of the latter, and instructs his in the lore and knowledge of the position. At the death of the tamon, his designated successor seeks possession or a vision, not unlike the Plains Indians vision. Arogeligar, for example, brought Tilitr gifts of food and flowers to his shrine. He ate and slept very little, if at all, and asked Tilitr to appear to him. Finally Tilitr did appear, in late afternoon, and Arogeligar remained possessed for four days. Tilitr appeared in the form of a man, rested heavily on Arogeligar's shoulders, and spoke to him in Ifalukian. Tilitr taught him how to call upon him for medicine, and he instructed him to 'look out good this place, the people and the chief for this place. If you don't, you very bad man.' This experience, then, made Arogeligar a full-fledged tamon alusuia.

Since that initial possession, Tilitr has possessed Arogeligar many times, either to inform him of some event, as when he told him of the impending American victory over the Japanese, or to give him medicine, that is, to inform him what kind of medicine, that is, to inform him what kind of medicine to employ in a certain illness. For after Arogeligar diagnoses any illness, he then goes to bwuter Tilitr, and asks Tilitr if he should apply medicine to the victim, and what kind. Tilitr then answers him, instructing him how to obtain the medicine. Arogeligar informed me that he is usually possessed at least twice a week, and sometimes more often. When Arogeligar talks to Tilitr, asking for medicine, his request has the same name as a conversation with a mortal, 'Meliali'. There is no term corresponding to our term, prayer, for there really is no concept of prayer. The chapeng are really incantations. When Tilitr possesses Arogeligar, he uses him as the mouthpiece through which he speaks, so that it is Tilitr and not Arogeligar who is speaking. This is called Arogeligar le'Tilitr.

Unlike the other people who are possessed only by the alus of their lineage, Arogeligar is possessed only by [sic] and by Tilikong, an alus who does the bidding of Tilitr. The tamon alusuia assumes the name of our alus when he takes office. Arogeligar is Tilievo. His successor has chosen Talevearo.

It is apparent that though the possession and induction into the office of tamon alusuia involves a personal, psychological experience, it is one that is completely culturally patterned. Only certain individuals can inherit the office; they prepare for it by formal

28: Spiro--73
116, 428, 756, 158

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-3
Ifalik

training, and by psychological conditioning, so that it is not strange that the sought-for vision should materialize."

28: Spiro--73-74 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 756, 868

"The incumbent in the office [WPM: of Tamon Alusuia. See p. 73, paragraph 1] trains not only his successor, but also a number of others who act as minor functionaries in the public ceremonies and in the curing ceremonies. Arogeligar, for example, is now training twenty-three individuals, ten males, and thirteen females. These assistants gather herbs for medicine, assist in the public ceremonies, and at times, when Arogeligar finds that a victim is possessed by a very powerful alus, for whose exorcism his medicine is not sufficient, he asks them to bring medicine they know, or that they learned from their parents.

When he is called in to heal, it is with the understanding that he is to be payed if his healing is successful, but he received nothing if the victim should die. His payment consists of lavalava, or rope, but there is no stipulated amount. [74]

The tamon alusuia not only receives payment for healing he also receives payment for teaching his songs to his assistants. This, Dr. Burrows suggested to me, might imply a concept of ownership in the songs. When I questioned him on this point, Arogeligar was firm in insisting that the songs were owned by Tilitr and not by him, and the payment he received was for his time, so that he is payed approximately the amount of rope or fish or lavalava that he might have been expected to manufacture in the time devoted to the instruction."

28: Spiro--74 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776 Ifalik

"Aside from the alusemar already described, there are special alusemar for the different economic specialities, so that the alusezenap, are the alus for the carpenters, and the alusepalu are the alus for the navigators. These alus are members of the same family and dwell in the sky, near the abode of Aluelap. Aluluei is the father of this illustrious family, and is the chief navigator in the sky, as well as the patron saint of the navigators on earth. One son, Paluelap is also a navigator, Selangli is the master canoe carpenter, Alulemas is the repairer of houses and canoes, and Faravai is the weather expert. Each of these sons is proficient only in his own specialty, and is completely dependent upon the others for assistance in theirs.

The specialists on earth turn to these alus for assistance and aid in their undertakings, and the requisite rituals are part of the instruction that the specialist imparts to the apprentice during his training period. These alus are the recipients of a token-sacrifice known as io-io. (29)"

"29. Sarfert incorrectly calls these banewan. The banewan is any gift a person gives to another, whereas the io-io is a token gift offering to the alus."

28: Spiro--74 [2]
116, 776

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are four alusto whom io-io are offered, three of the four being offered to the specialist alus. Lugeiling is the other alus who receives a io-io. The person who brings medicine to a sick man, whether he be Arogeligar or any other person, offers a io-io of coconuts to Lugeiling, asking him at the same time to ensure the efficacy of the medicine. A short time later he offers a io-io of food, which is placed in a special dish, and later thrown away."

28: Spiro--74 [3]
116, 776, 782, 335

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Alulumas, the patron saint of the house carpenters, receives a io-io at the completion of any construction job. He, too, receives two io-io, one of coconut and one of food. When the men drink the coconuts that are distributed after each construction work, the juice that squirts out of the nut as it is opened is accounted as a io-io, and the chief carpenter on the job asks, Alulemes that if 'I fix another one, no fall down on me. Now I finish one, I give you this coconut.'

When the men gather again for the customary feast, one or two days after the completion of the work, a portion of fish and taro is wrapped in a leaf, and placed in the ocean as a io-io to Alulemes, and the same words or words to that effect are uttered."

28: Spiro--74 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 782, 396 Ifalik

"For a canoe construction it is Selang-i the patron saint of canoe carpenters, who receives the io-io. His too, is the dual offering of coconut and food. At the completion of the canoe the head carpenter places a coconut along side of the canoe, and says, 'I give you this coconut; suppose I make another canoe, (assist me so that it will be) very fine.' Again when the men gather for their feast, the head carpenter expresses the same sentiments, and discards food from his plate, as a io-io to Selang-i."

28: Spiro--74-75
116, 776, 782, 502

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Aluluei is the recipient of the io-io when an ocean voyage is undertaken. As [75] the canoe leaves the lagoon and enters the ocean two coconuts are dropped overboard for Aluluei, and the navigator says, 'Look out my canoe, no drift away; wind and rain no take off.' But also offered to him are breadfruit, taro, and a new lavalava. These, however, are only symbolic offerings, since the food is consumed when the destination is reached, and the lavalava is brought back with the canoe, to be worn.

The io-io for a canoe journey is not the only ritual performed. Before boarding a canoe for an overseas trip, one of the sailors beats the water with a coconut leaf, so that it will remain calm. Then, the captain takes a coconut, and while asking Paluelpa for a safe trip, he strikes the prow of the canoe on all sides with the coconut."

28: Spiro--75
116, 788, 241, 342, 396

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"It is of note that Malinowski's observation that ritual is used in those areas of life in which the degree of control and predictability is slight, is borne out on Ifaluk. There is no garden ritual of any kind that I could discover. The taro grows regularly, only weeding and transplanting with fertilization being required. There has never been a crop failure, or drowth or any other unforeseen contingency that has effected the supply. Breadfruit and coconuts grow without any tending. Thus in these matters there is no ritual. There are a number of taboos, the violation of which will adversely effect the food supply, but that is a different matter.

But in hazardous undertakings, such as house construction, in which there is the chance of men being crushed to death; or ocean voyages, in which storms may sink the canoe or drive it off its course; or canoe construction, in which a faulty job will endanger lives, ritual is used. Not only are the io-io offered, but there are other rituals performed as well. After the canoe is completed and before it is painted it is sailed inside the lagoon to find out whether and where it may leak or may be faulty otherwise. When it is brought back on land, one of the carpenters sits astride the canoe and recites certain set formulae while waving a coconut branch over it. Unfortunately I did not record the texts but

28: Spiro--75 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 788, 241, 342, 396 Ifalik

it asks that the canoe be speedy, that it not drift away when on a journey, and that it not be shattered. (30)"

"30. This ritual is known as the gavaiven. I chanced to see Taroman performing the ritual, and I asked Tom what it was. He became quite sheepish, and said, 'I don't know, another place, another color', which means for reasons, I have never been able to understand, that every society has its own customs, which is a charming way of stating the position of cultural relativism. He proceeded to describe a ship-christening he had witnessed in Manilla, which was, to his way of thinking, the western analogue to the Ifaluk custom."

28: Spiro--75 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1·1
116, 787, 821, 177 Ifalik

"We have already described in detail the rituals employed in healing. But divination is also used in healing, as well as in predicting the weather. Divination, called *trip* or *bweng*, is practiced by means of coconut strips, the configuration of the knots being interpreted as a predictive mechanism. (31)"

"31. [See following sheet for footnote 31.]"

28: Spiro--75 [2]
116, 787, 821, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

"31. [Footnote pp. 75-76] One afternoon I saw Maroliger divining for a sick woman. I asked Tom what he was doing, and he replied that this was 'Katt', that is, he was playing cards. I didn't press the issue any further, assuming that Tom was reluctant to speak about the matter, and making a note to ask him about it at a later time. It was entirely accidental that I later learned what he had meant. In the latter part of November we had a few days of heavy wind, that the natives called a minor typhoon. Trees were blown down, the waves were coming on shore. Since there was little I could do, I spent a part of one afternoon playing 'solitaire.' While playing, Tom came to see how we were weathering the storm, and found me playing cards. Now previously Maroligar had seen Dr. Burrows playing, and after each hand Dr. Burrows would say, 'Good', or 'bad' [76] depending upon whether or not he had won, and Maroligar had interpreted this evaluation to mean that Dr. Burrows was divining for something. When Tom came that day, he told me that the people were very disturbed about the storm, and that he too was worried, and would be unable to sleep that night. But he insisted that I finish my game so that I could tell him whether the storm would continue or would abate. Wishing to put his mind at rest, I told him that the storm would stop. He sighed with relief, and was most happy, because Maroligar's divining by means of the coconut strips had predicted the same thing."

28: Spiro--76
116, 821, 789

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1 -2
Ifalik

"With regard to the weather, however, its course is not only predicted, it is controlled. If the divination indicates continued storm, then an incantation is recited which can control the weather. Only the navigators, know the technique. The person sits on one of the stone piers, and blows a conch horn. He then points it into the storm, and recites the appropriate verses. One of them collected by Dr. Burrows follows:

Incantation to drive away a storm

Dark clouds, the horn!
My god-invoking horn!
My talk goes to the clouds like fire.

Don't come near dark clouds!
Stay far away!
No more, no more, no more!

Turn aside, wind and cloud!
Bad weather turn aside!
Die away,
Move away!

Depart bad weather!
Come good weather!
Fair and bright.
Let there be fine days!
Cloudless the sky.

There are also incantations to clear the weather, (involving the breaking of the rainbow, which they think causes the storm), to drive off rain, to bring a departing canoe safely home, to keep a canoe afloat. I quote this one because it is typical. They are all attempts to control the elements by magic--that is words and gestures. It will be noticed that the bad weather is not caused by a supernatural agency but is conceived as an autonomous entity."

28: Spiro--76 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 784 Ifalik

"Part of any people's Belief System is a number of taboos, the violation of which results in some undesirable consequence. As far as I was able to determine, the consequences of taboo violation are automatic. The alus do not punish the people for taboo violation though it was they who instituted the taboos, Aluelap ordaining all taboos except the incest taboos, which were ordained by Autran. It seems rather that some inherent causal relationship inheres between the taboo and its consequences, so that none of the natives I spoke with attempted more than a feeble attempt at a rational explanation.

The native term is etap. I have already referred to a number of taboos in the course of the text, and will have occasion to refer to others. But at this point I should like here to underscore the observation made above, that ritual multiplies in those areas of culture that are relatively uncontrolled or are held in great value. (32)"

"32. It is obvious, of course, that the listing of these taboos in catalogue fashion does not imply that they were obtained that way. It is of methodological interest that if a native is asked to name as many taboos as he can, he will name two or three at the most, and no probing will aid him in recalling any others. For example, in discussing food habits I asked the four men with whom I was speaking, whether Ifaluk observes fasts, and I received a negative reply. But that very afternoon, I observed that the men were working on the hull of a canoe, and could not eat, as food was taboo. Almost all the taboos recorded in this manuscript were obtained by actually observing them in the course of my stay on the island."

28: Spiro--77 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1·2
116, 784 Ifalik

"In our entire stay I discovered only one taboo that involved the idea of holiness or sanctity per se, rather than being connected with a very pragmatic activity. That is, the plot of ground, known as Atelu, which belongs to the chiefs, and on which the fanap is located, is considered sacred ground, and one portion of it, directly behind our tent, is so sacred that no one is supposed to tread on it. The violation of this taboo results in rain and even typhoons. We discovered this purely accidentally. The trade winds had set in, and still the rains, which usually cease with the onset of the Trades continued, and both the natives and the anthropologists were very surprised. One afternoon, I observed the natives moving an old over-water-head to the beach directly in front of our tent. When they had finished their work, Tom came to us and said that this little hut was to be for our use, that we had been using part of Atelu as our private lavatory, and that perhaps that is why the rain continued, since it is taboo to walk on that ground, and the penalty for the violation of the taboo is rain. (33)

"33. That afternoon, I walked into our new lavatory, the rain stopped, and the sun appeared. The native view emerged triumphant! It is this kind of vindication, of course, if only once in a thousand times, that confrims the validity of the taboo for the natives."

28: Spiro--77 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 784 Ifalik

All the other taboos are concerned either with illness, or with construction work; or the food quest, particularly fishing; or with dangerous physiological processes, such as birth and menstruation."

28: Spiro--77 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 538 Ifalik

"The arts: The arts on Ifaluk are sparse.

Oral literature is negligible. The myths and legends are few, (34) and are known only by the chiefs and by Arogeligar. There is no taboo on their public knowledge, but the people seem to show little interest in them. There are no invented folk tales, all narative being real or true, so that there is no category of fiction, of stories invented and told for amusement. Nor are there any riddles, proverbs, or sayings, that we generally classify as part of a people's folklore."

"34. The collection of myths and legends will be published separately."

28: Spiro--77-78 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 533, 831 Ifalik

"Songs are abundant. Dr. Burrows collected over two-hundred songs, which are of three kinds. The bwarux are the love songs, which formed the largest category. These are composed by the women and are traditionally sung by the women to their sweethearts as a prelude to love-making, while they perform a love-dance. They are also sung and danced, as we have already seen, during fishing expeditions. [78]

These songs, are quite candid in their treatment of sexual organs and processes and sexual practices, which stands in marked contrast to the customary avoidance of any sexual allusion in daily life."

28: Spiro--78
116, 533, 562

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though composed by women to be sung at specified occasions, the men know the bwarux and sing them often. In the evening when the young men congregate in the canoe houses, one of the favorite activities is the singing of some bwarux, which affords them great amusement, and whose words elicit the same undercurrent of tittering that the corresponding activity evokes in our culture. Women too, sing bwarux when working together in the house or in the malum, that children, both boys and girls, are exposed to them at an early date."

28: Spiro--78 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 533 Ifalik

"The aruaru is the second category of songs. This is a miscellaneous category that includes lamentations for the dead, songs of praise for good chiefs or skilled fishermen, shanties, fishing and construction songs, and others. These do not seem to be very popular as they are not sung as freely as the bwarux or the chapengapeng."

28: Spiro--78 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 533 Ifalik

"The chapengapeng (usually shorten to chapeng), including all religious songs, whether they be the incantations for the ill, or the hymns sung at the medicine ceremonies. These are popular, for they are not only sung on the appropriate functional occasion, but like the bwarux, are sung by individuals sitting around their homes in the evening or in the canoe-houses.

The music to which these songs are sung is simple. The scale has only two notes, and there is rarely more than a half-note interval between notes. Furthermore, it seems that all songs in any of the three categories are sung quite similarly, that is there is no tune appropriate to any one song, but rather, all songs are improvised within the traditional two note scale, so that no song is ever sung twice identically."

28: Spiro--78-79
116, 535

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"We have already described the dancing performed at the medicine-dance in our discussion of religion. There is another dance, the *Ur*, which is also a religious dance, which is performed standing, and is not performed as part of a ceremony. Its purpose is unknown, as the natives say it was borrowed from Ulithi and Woleae.

We witnessed this dance at the request of Dr. Burrows. At one of the public meetings, the chiefs announced that an *Ur* was to be held in the not-too-distant future, and that the men should begin rehearsing for it. The rehearsals took place every night for at least two weeks before the dance. Each district held its own rehearsals, and at the formal dance itself, they danced by districts. Each district has at least one man that is recognized as an especially good choreagrapher, or as knowing the dances especially well, and it was he who led the rehearsals.

As in the medicine-dance, the men wore skirts of coconut leaves while dancing, and here, also, the same reason was given for this practice-- 'from before, before.' (*musuwe*, *musuwe*). Only the young and middle-aged men took part in the dances, since some of the movements are strenuous, and an older man could not last long in the pace. I shall make no attempt to describe the dance, since Dr. Burrows is making a special study of this, as well as the other arts, except to tell its general nature. The men stand in a row, facing the audience, though there are movements which require them to kneel.

28: Spiro--78-79 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 535 Ifalik

But even the standing dances, involve no mobility, all the foot movement being a kind of intricate pivoting, and a simultaneous movement of body and arms. The men themselves sing a vocal accompaniment to their dancing.

The rehearsals are great fun for the participants as well as for the 'galery.' [79] They are held in front of the main canoe houses in all three districts, and the women and children, as well as the older men, assemble to watch the dances, praising, or criticising a dance or dancer, as the case might be, or making wisecracks. The young girls are kept busy tending the fire, since the coconut branch fuel is consumed rapidly."

28: Spiro--79 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 535, 152, 183 Ifalik

"Towards the end of the rehearsal period the dances would assume the character of dress rehearsals, the men being highly decorated and ornamented, as they later were at the dance. On these dress rehearsals, a strange and interesting custom took place. The women would prepare marmar, and certain women would be designated to present the marmar to the men while they were dancing. The chosen women would appear, their entire bodies and heads being covered with cloths and blankets, so that their identity was not disclosed, and while the dance was in process, they would walk behind the dancers, and place marmars on their heads or necks. They would then disappear, so that the men did not know who they were. The reason for this custom is unknown. (35)"

"35. When I asked Tom for the reason, he replied that if the identity of the women were known, a woman who gave a wreath to some man would arouse her husband's anger or jealousy. This was specious reasoning, however, since all the men receive wreaths during the course of the evening, so that no favoritism is displayed. In other words, here, as in so many other occasions, we reached a point in explanation, where traditional explanations were really lacking, and gave way to personal speculation, as Malinowski has pointed out. When I pointed this out to Tom, he fell back to the well-worked musuwe, musuwe.[WPM: From before, from before]"

28: Spiro--79 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 535 Ifalik

"When the chiefs were satisfied that the dancers were adequately prepared, they announced that the women should prepare food the next day, and on the following day the dance would be held. The dance [WPM: The Ur, see pp. 77-78] was held in Rauau by the central canoe house. The dancers were dressed very elaborately. They wore the coconut leaf skirts, of course, as well as the women's belts. Their faces were painted, ankles and arms were decorated with coconut strips, and around the necks were coconut leaf necklaces. A ball of cotton was attached to their hair combs, and in the cotton were inserted two white chicken feathers. The entire body was smeared with turmeric. The only two colors used were red and white, though there are other colors available. Certain individuals added other decorations of a personal nature, which included anything gaudy or garish they might have possessed.

The Felarik men danced first, followed by the Rauau men. After the dance, the food which was brought by each household was distributed by the chiefs, as was tobacco that the chiefs had contributed. (36)"

"36. As usual, we contributed beef, tobacco, and perfume."

28: Spiro--79-80 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 535 Ifalik

"Another dance is the laura dance that is performed with bamboo sticks, though the scarcity of bamboo on Ifaluk dictates the use of sticks of any hard wood. This, too, was performed at the request of Dr. Burrows, but unlike the ur, was performed without rehearsal, and has no religious significance. It is a young-man's dance, and the one we witnessed was performed only by the young men of Rauau and, Falalap, those of Felarik not participating. The la-ura is performed in a standing position, again to the accompaniment of their own singing. The men stand in two rows, each having a partner, and strike their poles against the poles of their partners in complicated gestures, while moving their feet and bodies in the patterned formations. [80]

The la-ura was performed very informally, and without any great interest. Neither the observers nor the dancers seemed to display any real enthousiasm, and the dancing began before the arrival of the chiefs, something which is never done for something important. After the dance, coconuts and tobacco were distributed as usual."

28: Spiro--80
116, 532

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Ifaluk has practically no plastic or graphic arts in the strict sense of the term. Since contact the people have been encouraged to carve wooden statuettes, which are traded for western trade goods. They are called lios, and are made by the young men. They are distinguished by their almost monotonous similarity, all the men making the identical figures, with only minor variations. All these figures have disproportionately, large flat heads, and flexed knees. Practically all the figures are male. But those figures have no native use, and the people look upon them as just another Western eccentricity.

The only native carving, of a representative value, is the wooden phallus attached to the front pillar of the fanap.

Native graphic art is lacking, as well. In some of the canoe houses, there are painted figures of men and fish, but these have been made by the young men who had returned from the Japanese school in Yap, where they had received some training."

28: Spiro--80 [2]
116, 531

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though there are no 'fine arts' in the atoll, there are, of course, industrial arts, as we have seen, and some of these display very fine decorative art. The canoes are painted with fixed color and design patterns. And it is this fixity that is most impressive. Not only is every canoe made the same, according to the same design, but every canoe is painted identically the same as every other canoe. No one diverges from the cultural pattern. This design, it is of interest to observe, is universal in the Western Carolines, as is the actual structure of the canoe."

28: Spiro--80 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 291, 286 Ifalik

"To be noted finally, are the women's skirts. These are woven on a true loom, though the origin of the loom is unknown, as far as I know. The threads are colored by natural dyes, coral being immersed in water, and the natural color of the coral dissolving in the water to form the dyes.The basic pattern of the skirts is the same, alternating bands of two basic colors."

28: Spiro--81
116, 842

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Physiological paternity, though vague and ill-defined, is recognized in Ifaluk. Pregnancy is the resultant of two causes--sexual intercourse and the intervention of Aluelap. If the couple are in love ('like too much'), then Aluelap will intervene when the semen enters the womb, and he will 'give baby.' On the other hand, if the couple are not in love, then despite sexual intercourse, and despite the fact the the semen may enter the womb, the woman will not become pregnant because Aluelap will not intervene. Thus we see that sexual intercourse is a necessary, but not a sufficient cause of pregnancy. Sexual intercourse is necessary in native birth theory, however, is indubitable. Every adult with whom I spoke, without exception, maintained that without intercourse, there could be no pregnancy. The additional factor--the intervention of Aluelap--helps explain why some women are barren, or why not every act of intercourse results in pregnancy. It further explains why a casual relationship will not result in conception, for any non-institutionalized sexual relationship--either in marriage or in the institution known as the gamar, will not produce children, because Aluelap will not intervene."

28: Spiro--81 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 842, 855 Ifalik

"With the birth of the first child another factor appears that may effect any future pregnancy. If the parents had mistreated their first child, had not satisfied its needs, Aluelap deems them incapable of raising children, and will not give them any more."

28: Spiro--81 [3]
116, 626, 848, 581

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Aside from the offspring of incestuous unions, there is no native concept of illegitimacy. The children of unmarried sweethearts (gamar) are evaluated no differently from those of married couples. The natives point out that they desire babies, that they love them, that they are necessary to replenish the population, and what difference, therefore, does it make whether they are born to married couples or to sweethearts. Thus the native name for an infant, sauwau for a girl, ligau for a boy, is the same whether its parents be married or unmarried.

It is expected, however, that a man will marry his sweetheart should she become pregnant. This is not compulsory, but should he refuse he would be scorned and called a 'very bad man' by all the people."

28: Spiro--81 [4]
116, 842

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Assuming that Aluelap is favorably disposed, conception begins when the semen mixes with the mother's vaginal blood. The baby being thought of as a mass of water and blood. By the end of the third month, the head is formed, and soon after, the body begins to assume shape. The natives recognize a nine month pregnancy, and could remember no case of a premature birth. Since a two month cease of the menstrual flow is taken as a sign of pregnancy, it is a simple matter for them to know of the nine month period of gestation."

28: Spiro--81 [5]
116, 842

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Babies are preeminently desired, probably more than any other single thing, so that a couple that does not have children is greatly pitied. But it is not only pity, but sadness which the people feel towards a barren woman (ulut) -- 'all people very sad, for no have baby, by'mby no more people.'"

28: Spiro--81-82
116, 843, 854

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Babies are desired both for themselves, and as a form of old age insurance. That is, babies are constantly being handled, kissed, hugged, played with, etc. The people have an inordinate desire to fondle babies, and babies are always the center of attention and of attraction in every home, and in every gathering. Babies are wanted, therefore, because of the pleasure they afford. Caring for the baby is never considered a bother or a chore. I have never seen a mother or any other person express resentment over, or anger towards, a baby because of the care and attention she must give it. It is no exaggeration to say that the adult's care [82] of the infant is a labor of love, and we might even question the very use of the term, 'labor.' I have never heard a mother complain of the restrictions on her behavior caused by the infant. A baby knows only smiling and laughing faces, soft arms and soft words. No baby is ever handled roughly, no baby is scowled at or spoken to with bitterness. To repeat, I have never heard an adult utter one word of complaint about the additional burdens caused by a new infant."

28: Spiro--82
116, 842, 843

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This great love of infants and the ardent desire to have babies may account for the relative absence of psychosomatic disturbances on the part of the pregnant mother. Neither my informants nor my direct questioning of pregnant women revealed any minor physical inconvenience, nor feelings of nausea."

28: Spiro--82 [2]
116, 854, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Adults not only want children because of their great love for infants, but also for a very practical reason, as providers for them in their old age. 'Suppose baby he grew up, he take fish, chow, coconut, he give mama and pappa.'"

28: Spiro--82 [3]　　(1947-48) 1949　　Woleaians
116, 843, 784　　Ifalik

"The parents observe few taboos during pregnancy. They may not cut their hair, nor can they eat any food cooked over a fire made of driftwood. The husband may not begin a canoe during his wife's pregnancy. If these taboos are violated the parents would become ill.

Sexual intercourse is taboo for the first three months of pregnancy, after which it is desirable. The reason for this differentiation is that for the first three months the baby is but blood and water, and should the parents have intercourse they would kill the infant. After the third month, the baby begins to be formed, and intercourse can no longer harm the baby, but it can expand the walls of the vagina, and thus expedite the delivery.

The same logic applies to the relative amount of work performed by a pregnant woman. For the first seven months she performs only light labor, because the baby is weak. But in the last two months, she works hard, working even in the taro patches, as it is believed that manual activity will facilitate a rapid delivery."

28: Spiro--82 [4]
116, 842

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Contraceptives are unknown, and if they were known they would probably not be used, since babies are desired, not avoided."

28: Spiro--82-83
116, 843, 774, 602

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"It is during the period of gestation that the foetus acquires its soul.(ngas) It is the ngas that differentiates the dead from the living, so that before the entrance of the ngas, the infant is not yet alive, and when it departs the person dies. The ngas, whose size is unknown, resides in the 'stomach', and is conceived of as a vaporous substance. ('all same wind'). But its actual formation and derivation is a matter of speculation. Arogeligar maintained that Aluelap gives the baby its ngas inthe eighth month of pregnancy. Others said that the soul enters the embryo through the umbilical cord. (1) The chiefs, on the other hand, maintained that the soul evolves in the baby in the course of its development, like any other organ, though the nature and time if its growth is unknown.

But the foetus not only receives its ngas during the period of gestation, it also receives its blood. Both blood (tra) and food, which the foetus requires to keep alive, are received by means of the umbilicus. Blood is necessary for life. If a person has much blood, he will be strong; if he has little, he will be weak; and if he has none, he will die.

But though the foetus receives its blood from its mother, all questions concerning

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"1. Thus deriving from the mother, which would explain matrilineal descent."

28: Spiro--82-83 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 843, 774, 602 Ifalik

[83] 'blood relationship' elicited negative replies. All blood is the same, there being no differences between individuals or people, and the concept of relationship through blood is completely foreign to them. (2)"

"2. Again it is possible that matrilineal descent is related to the fact of the infant's receiving of his blood from his mother. But questions of this kind, as well as other similar questions sent my informants into peels of laughter. How should they, or any one else know the answers to these questions, and who but an idiot would bother about them. Auelimar, one of my best informants expressed the concensus of the group when he exclaimed, 'who can savvy that?'"

28: Spiro--83
116, 843

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The natives claim to be able to determine the sex of the embryo. If the mother has a craving for coconut water, and if she feels the embryo moving in the womb, it is a boy. If, on the other hand, she has no craving for coconut water, and if the embryo's movement is slight, it is a girl."

28: Spiro--83 [2]
116, 842, 827

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"As between boys and girls, the latter are preferable. At first my informants said that there was no preference, but then qualified this equality by saying that 'boy more down,' expressing relative value in spatial terms, as they are wont to do. They all agreed that 'boy more down' because the girls can have babies (when they become mature, of course) but the boys cannot, and this was the decisive factor. When discussing the relative status of men and women the same response was given by still other informants. Women are more important than men because they can bear children. This emphasized, again, the great importance and value of children. (3)"

"3. [See following sheet for footnote 3.]"

28: Spiro--83 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 842, 827 Ifalik

"3. [Footnote p. 83] One can also question the native's actual knowledge of physiological paternity from this statement. For though it is true that only the women bear the children, the men play an equally important role in conception, which they seem to completely overlook in this regard. In a discussion of the relative status of the sexes with still other informants, I pointed out that the child-bearing role of women is paralleled, by their own theories, by the procreative powers of the men. They all looked surprised, as if the thought had not occured to them, and finally Arogeirox exclaimed, 'You talk true', and they then changed their evaluation, and said that men are more important. The next day my informants returned to this point, and praised me for my--to them--very acute observation.

But this disregard of the man's role in procreation in the context of this stiuation is not the only reason that leads one to question their fundamental knowledge of physiological paternity. In the mythology, it will be recalled that Legobub, the primordial goddess, gave birth to three children, without having a male consort. This 'virgin birth' is not interpreted as a miracle, a prerogative of the supernaturals, but rather accepted without question.

It is possible that their knowledge of physiological paternity has been borrowed since contact, and has not become integrated into the indigenous belief. But this theory is entirely speculative, there being no way to establish it."

28: Spiro--83-84 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-3
116, 844 Ifalik

"When the mother first begins to feel labor pains she retires to the house in Falalap, called Weluar, which is close to the birth-hut, Emelipen. When the pains become acute she goes to Emdipen, itself, accompanied by her mother and mother's sister. Emedipen is the only birth hut in Ifaluk. It is strictly tabooed to any male, who may not walk within 50 feet of it. Should he violate this taboo, all food would rot, and a famine would ensue.

If she is still in labor at night her relatives and the relatives of her husband hold a sial for her. That is, they assemble in Weluar, where they remain awake all night, keeping watch over her, and offering her herbs to drink should the birth be difficult. (4)

"4. The necessity of actual observation, as opposed to the exclusive use of informant was brought out very clearly in obtaining this information. I did not know whether I would have the opportunity to observe a childbirth, so I organized a committee of informants, consisting of two men and two women, from whom I hoped to obtain the information. After a great number of exhaustive sessions I was sure my information was completed. Some time after these sessions, I observed a group of young men leaving in the evening for Falalap. I asked them what they were up to, and all I could make out was the word Sial, which I had never heard of. After a number of unsuccessful attempts to explain its meaning to me, they suggested that I ask Tom. Later in the evening, I saw Tom, who explained what the sial is. I immediately departed for Falalap, but I was too late. The birth had already taken place."

[84] While in labor, the mother kneels on a mat, catching the baby in her arms when it emerges. The length of labor varies considerably, but it was impossible to receive any estimate, other than the general statement that, 'some very quick, some very slow.' Though the mother is accompanied by her mother and her mother's sister, they do not serve as midwifes, except in the event of a difficult delivery, in which case they will extract the baby from the womb. Ordinarily, however, the mother delivers her own baby. She is, moreover, not to indicate her pain by any overt manifestations. Should she cry out, she would shame both her mother and herself.

After the baby is born, the mother's mother takes it, holding it in her arms until the afterbirth (bei) is discharged. She then severs the umbilical cord (buch) with a small ocean shell, wraps it in a new lavalava cloth, and buries it at the side of Emelipen. The afterbirth is disposed of in the same fashion. Should either not be buried, and should the mother see them, she would become ill. (5)

Should the baby be born prematurely, before the mother could get to *Emilipen*, the mother proceeds there immediately following the birth. Should she remain in her own home with the baby, all vegetation would die."

"5. The small shell used to cut the umbilicus is called a *giligin*. It is very tiny and white, and is sought by the mother in her ninth month, who then keeps it in her basket containing lavalava thread until she retires to the birth-hut. Again, this is interesting in terms of the selective nature of the acculturative process. The natives have plenty of knives, of many sizes, which they esteem very highly, and use exclusively for all purposes. But in the matter of the birth, which is an act of danger, one of the *rites du* passage, the older shell is retained. One apparently doesn't tempt the fates, even at the gain of greater efficiency."

28: Spiro--84
116, 845,764

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Still births occur, though I could obtain no information on their frequency. The mother's mother will massage its head, arms, and legs, and often this will vivify the infant. If this is of no avail, it is wrapped in a lavalava, tied with a fishline, and after a brief wailing by the family, it is buried at the side of the birth-hut. The reason for burying it on land, rather than in the ocean, as is the practice with adults, is that the new-born is 'no people, only something,' that is it is still not looked upon as human."

28: Spiro--84 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 845 Ifalik

"Twins (nipwe) occur, though infrequently. At present there is one pair of twins--two middle aged women. Triplets have never occured, and the natives were amazed to learn that they do occur in other societies. There is no magical idea associated with twins, though if one should die the other is killed."

28: Spiro--85
116, 844

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"After the burial of the afterbirth, women of her own and of her husband's family bring the mother food--coconuts, taro, and breadfruit. While she is eating her mother takes the baby to the ocean to wash it, whether the weather and the ocean be hot or cold. When she returns she feeds the baby some water, followed by some ripe coconut oil. This is the infant's first feeding. The baby is then handed to it's mother who gives it the breast, more as a gesture than as nourishment, for as yet she has no milk, and usually has none until the fourth day."

28: Spiro--85 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 846, 854 Ifalik

"The baby is then [WPM: afterfirst nursing],for the first time, allowed to rest. It is placed in its 'bed' (*giagi*), a pandanus mat placed on the floor, over which is placed some cloth, either the cotton cloth introduced by the Japanese, or the native cloth. The baby itself is wrapped in cloth, as a kind of diaper, and is then covered completely with another cloth. This last 'blanket' is used invariably no matter how hot it may be, so as to facilitate perspiration, for if the infant does not perspire freely, its growth will be retarded. Of course, when the baby soils itself, the diaper is replaced with a clean one, the excrements are carried to the ocean, and the soiled diaper is washed.

The infant and mother remain in Emelipen [WPM: see pp. 83-84] for ten days after the birth. During that time her behavior and treatment of the baby are strictly institutionalized. The mother and her attendant (her mother, mother's sister, or husband's mother) take the baby to the channel between the two islands to be washed three times a day--morning, noon, and afternoon. It is not washed in the evening lest an *àlusengau* make it sick."

28: Spiro--85 [3]
116, 846, 853

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"For its first four days the infant is fed water and coconut oil, and whatever milk the mother may have. The infant is fed whenever it cries and when the mother and her attendant think it proper. That is, if the infant should sleep for an extended period, the mother will wake it in order to feed it.

On the fifth day, the mother's milk is usually sufficient, and the breast replaces the coconut oil. But the feeding follows the same pattern--in which first water is given the infant, and then the breast. Again, it is fed whenever it cries, and whenever its mother sees that its stomach is flat or not swollen. If the stomach is swollen, it is assumed that it is not hungry."

28: Spiro--85 [4]
116, 846, 854

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"What must be stressed is the constant attention the infant receives. The mother and her attendant are at the constant service of the baby. One of them is always awake while the other sleeps to ensure that the infant's wants are immediately satisfied.

While the mother and infant are confined to the birth-hut, her family and that of her husband are busy. The men of both families go fishing every day, and their women-folk bring the fish to the mother, since fish will make her milk flow abundantly."

28: Spiro--85 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 846 Ifalik

"No male, of course, can go near the birth-hut, neither her husband, son, brother, or stranger. When the mother takes the infant to the channel to wash it, the male relatives may stand on the other side of the channel and thus catch a glimpse of the baby. Any woman, however is allowed free access to the birth-hut. They bring the fish to the mother, as well as the other vegetable foods. However, even they cannot handle the baby, this privilege being restricted to the mother and her attendant. Nor can they remain in Emelipen overnight. They must return to their own homes to sleep."

28: Spiro--86 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 846, 352 Ifalik

"The infant's father has one additional responsibility. He must build a cradle (ulol) for the infant. The Ulol has four sides, made of wood, which are fastened together as the bottom with plaited rope, to form the bottom, on which the baby is to lie. Rope is then attached to the four corners, and to the rafters of the roof, so that the cradle is suspended from the rafters, and can be rocked or swung. Eventually, when the baby is brought home, a pandanus mat is placed in the cradle, and the baby is placed on the mat, and then covered with cloth."

28: Spiro--86 [2]
116, 846, 851

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-13
Ifalik

"At the end of the ten-day confinement, the baby is brought home, at which time there is a minor celebration. The baby and mother leave for home at dawn, accompanied by the female relatives. The latter also bring food they had previously prepared, and they gather in the house of the mother, where they eat. Men are not allowed in the house at this time, though the taboo is not too severe, because I was permitted to enter. The women merely sit quietly, conversing in subdued tones, offering a suggestion at intervals to the mother, but otherwise remaining inactive and contained, which is very unusual behavior for them. The mother and infant are the centers of attraction, and all eyes are on them.

The mother sits on a pandanus sleep mat, and does not leave the mat, except when she retires to the lagoon for ablutions. The baby lies on a small pandanus mat, which in turn, is placed on a large pandanus mat, which in turn is placed on a large coconut mat. The baby wears cloth swaddling clothes, and when he sleeps he is covered with a very stiff cloth, which acts as a head rest when the mother nurses him, so that his head does not fall back. Covering the cloth is a small pandanus mat, and this is then covered with a blanket, which completely covers the infant. Breathing under these conditions is probably difficult, but, as pointed out above, this facilitates the infant's perspiring, which is deemed so important by the natives.

At the baby's head is the same kind of fire that burns in the birth hut. A small pit is dug in the house prior to the mother's return, in which is buried the bonito head, and on top of which burns the fire for the duration of the mother's confinement. As already explained, this fire prevents the infant from becoming ill. The fire is sacred in that it may not be used for any secular or profane purpose, except by the mother and her attendant. My attempt to light a cigarette from one of its embers elicited a chorus of sharp etaps. The women remain with the mother till the end of the day, after which they return home, and the mother and child are left to themselves, except for the usual degree of daily visiting.

The father has not as yet entered the house, and it is only after the first day has elapsed that he may do so. However, neither he nor any other person, male or female may touch the baby, or even approach it beyond the mat on which it lies, with the exception of the mother and her attendant. To do so is strictly taboo as I, again, learned from my own behavior. On the fifth day, he is allowed to hold the infant, but he may not yet pick it up by itself, since he cannot approach its mat until the end of the mother's confinement, so that the mother must hand him the infant, if she grants him permission to hold it. If he should take the infant himself, the baby would take sick. At the end of the mother's three month confinement, she prepares a new mat, the old one is discarded, and the baby can then be directly approached. (6)"

"6. This avoidance taboo is very interesting in light of the theories of paternal sibling hostility towards the new-born. Both paternal and sibling hatred are shorn of the possibility of over expression by this taboo. One can also interpret the exclusion of the father from the birth-hut in the same manner."

28: Spiro--87 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1
116, 846, 784, 854 Ifalik

"Though the father sleeps in the house with his wife, after the second day of her return [WPM: from the birth-hut], parental intercourse is strictly taboo for two *rag* (approximately one atronomical year). Violation of the taboo will result in the baby's death. Though it is difficult to check on the observance of this taboo directly, there is indirect reason to believe that it is observed. In the first place there are no children whose closest siblings are within an age period that would indicate a conception within the tabooed period. Secondly, at least two fathers left the island after the birth of a child, may well have been motivated by the desire to avoid temptation. And finally, infant mortality is sufficiently high that few would wish to risk the imputation by themselves, as well as by others, of having killed their child by lack of sexual restraint.

The mother and her attendant are confined to their home for three months. They are in constant attendance upon the infant, and may leave the house only for bathing and the performance of their ablutions. But one of them must remain in the house, when the other leaves. The mother is not permitted to do any work that may distract her attention from her baby, so that the only activity permitted her is the making of lavalavas.

Except for this constant attention to the child, which monopolizes her time, there seems to be no indication of differential status or role on the part of the new mother. The only avoidance pattern is the sexual one just described. I discovered only one indication of a slight change of status. While talking with a group of people one evening, I had passed cigarettes around the group, lit the cigarette of one of the women, and having no more matches, used her cigarette to light the others. Tom refused to take a light, explaining that the woman had just had a baby, and that if he, a captain, should make use of her fire (of any kind), he would drift off his course while on an ocean voyage."

28: Spiro--87 [2]
116, 854, 776

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"After the first day at home, the infant may be placed either in the Ulol or on its bed-mat, the giagi. At night, however, it always sleeps on its mat, between its parents. This is to protect it from the alusengau, since infants are most vulnerable to their attacks. If an alus wishes to make it sick, it is protected by its parents on either side of it, so that one of them will become ill, and not the infant.

The baby, of course sleeps often during the day, and while it sleeps the members of the household make no attempt to modulate their voices, or to control the obstreperousness of the children. The children come into the house, shouting and laughing, and usually the babies sleep through it all. And even if he should wake and be fed, the women do not attempt to inhibit the shouting and playing of the children."

28: Spiro--87-88 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 853, 862, 826 Ifalik

"Feeding at home is, at first, like the feeding in the birth-hut, the nourishment consisting of the breast-milk and water, the latter always preceeding the former. But the water is more than water; it is 'medicine' as well. That is the water-feeder is a sack-like piece of coconut bark, in which is wrapped the leaves of the angorik, and is called walewa. The walewa is immersed in a coconut shell containing water, and when the mother feeds water to the infant she squeezes the walewa which has absorbed the water, so that the water streams into the infant's mouth. This practice often is disturbing to the baby, because the flow of water cannot be readily controlled, and I have seen many babies gagging on an overflow. Besides, if the infant is genuinely thirsty, he is frustrated by his own inability to swallow the water as rapidly as its streams into his mouth, so that he gasps and gurgles and chokes while trying to swallow. [88]

As is the practice in the birth-hut, the infant is fed whenever it cries, or whenever it turns.

The breast, then, serves not only as a source of nourishment, but as a pacifier as well. That the breast assumes the function of pacifier is indicated by the almost reflexive turn of the child to the mother's breast in time of distress. When I first made my appearance on the island, and the babies were still frightened of me, many would either clutch at the breast, or else place it in their mouths."

28: Spiro--88 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 853, 157, 862 Ifalik

"It has been claimed by many observers that in cultures in which there is no oral frustration, in which the breast is always available, that children will not suck their thumbs. The great majority of children on Ifaluk are thumb suckers, not only those who have been weaned, but those who are still being suckled. Some mothers discourage thumb-sucking, while others are unconcerned about it. Those opposed to the practice say that it weakens the thumb and kills the child's appetite.

Thumb sucking, then, is not only a function of oral frustration. It may be a simple satisfaction of the sucking reflex. Or, in older children, it may be a regression to the oral level of mastery. This would be particularly true on Ifaluk, in which the older child is, relatively speaking, neglected, so that the thumb sucking is a return to the security and emotional gratification of the nursing infant.

When the mother feeds her baby, she lifts it from its bed or cradle, returning it to its place, when she is finished. Always care is taken to support the infant's head, so that it does not fall back. At first the stiff cloth is used which prevents the head from falling. Later the cloth is discarded, but the mother supports the head with her hand. This support continues whenever the baby is held, until it begins to crawl. Again, I learned this the hard way, by violation of the practice, and being taught the correct way by the father of the infant I had 'maltreated'.

28: Spiro--88
116, 853, 157, 862

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Only the mother may feed the baby during its first three months. If she should die, a wet nurse will be found, but not if her milk is scarce. In the latter case, coconut juice will be added to the diet."

28: Spiro--88 [2]
116, 853, 824

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Besides water and milk, the infant is fed some special medicine twice a day--morning and night--for the first three months. This medicine is a concoction of water in which are mixed the leaves of the ragnz, galua, and karavwan trees. This medicine is given to make the baby's 'stomach very fine.'"

28: Spiro--88 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 853, 183 Ifalik

"My informants said that unlike the ten days in the birth-hut, the baby is not wakened to be fed. My own observations, however, did not confirm this statement, which was probably a statement of a cultural norm, rather than an empirical description. For at least the first month, the mother will feed the infant often, and will wake it in order to do so. The baby is wakened by the stream of water in its mouth. Often, however, this does not wake the baby, and the mother will ease her nipple into its mouth, which automatically induces the sucking reflex, though to all appearances, the baby is still sleeping."

28: Spiro--88-89
116, 854, 827, 865

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"During this early infancy, I seldom heard an infant cry, there being but two occasions which evoke a crying response. It is believed that an infant which lies still in its cradle, without moving, will not grow. It is also believed that it is bad for the infant to lie on its stomach, but that it is good to lie on its side. The mother constantly watches the infant to see that it moves or does not lie on its stomach. If it does not move or does lie on its stomach, she will turn him on [89] its side, and this occurs, not infrequently. The infant often cries at this disturbance, whereupon the mother will lift it out of the cradle and nurse it."

28: Spiro--89
116, 854, 862

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This crying, however, is mild, and usually lasts but a few seconds, until the infant feels the nipple in its mouth. It is the early morning washing that produces intense crying and screaming. As we have seen, the infant is first washed in the channel, at birth, by its mother's attendant. After that both the mother and her attendant together wash the infant until the end of its second month. It is washed three times a day--morning, noon and afternoon. It is the morning bath in particular that elicits the crying response, and understandably so. In the early dawn, when the infant is washed, the lagoon is extremely cold, as I can testify from personal experience. The infant is usually wakened from its sleep, taken from its overly-warm 'bed' in which it is covered with many cloths and a blanket, and is immersed completely in the water, with only its head above water. The result is always bitter crying on the infant's part, and understandably so, for this is, indeed, a traumatic experience. Either the mother or her attendant washed the infant, after which, while still standing in the water, the mother nurses it. His screaming has been dissipated by this time, and the breast seems to be very welcome. (7)"

"7. The natives are not unaware of the pain this bathing ritual inflicts on the infant. But the mothers explain it by the refrain of musuwe, musuwe."

28: Spiro--89 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 853, 862, 262 Ifalik

"In its third month, the infant's diet is increased, and in a sense, this is the beginning of its weaning, though the natives do not view it as such. The mother begins to give the infant taro and fish, which she first masticates and then introduces it into the infant's mouth with her fingers. At this time, also, the infant is introduced to the palm-toddy. Only the fresh toddy that had just been collected is given to the infant, and even it is first diluted with water before it is given to the baby. If the infant does not like the solid food, it is not forced to take it, but its mother will continue to offer it these foods at frequent intervals, until it gets to like them."

28: Spiro--89-90 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 854, 157, 609 Ifalik

"As we have already observed, the infant is constantly and continously watched over by its mother and her attendant for the first two months. If it cries, it is picked up, nursed, rocked in their arms, or rocked in the cradle. After this two month period, there is no restriction on the people who can attend to its needs, so that its father, or siblings, or any stranger may and does pick it up, rock it, or attempt to cajole it if it cries.

Already at this age, the infant is exposed to the faces and arms of many people. For the westerner, the amount of handling the infant receives is almost fantastic. The infant, particularly after it can crawl, is never allowed to remain in the arms of one person. In the course of a half hour conversation, the baby might change hands ten times, being passed from one person to another. This transference of the infant is not due to the fatigue of the person who is holding it at the time, but is done at the request of the others. The adults, as well as the older children, love to fondle the babies and to play with them, with the result that the infant does not stay with one person very long. This means, of course, that the baby gets to know the faces of many people, and learns to appreciate the love and protection that an adult can and does give it, be he a relative or stranger. This intimacy of contact with strangers at an early age, which establishes a freedom of relationship with non-relatives at a later age, increases the uneasiness the

28: Spiro--89-90 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 854, 157, 609 Ifalik

[90] babies might normally have towards strangers. Every person in the district, at least, is part of the infant's in-group, and is known to him from earliest infancy. The stranger, therefore, is really a stranger, whose behavior is entirely unpredictable, since he is entirely unknown. With few exceptions, therefore, the young children were very shy and in many cases downright afraid of me for a long time, until they got to know me. (and the candy I gave to every child I met was not a minor factor in establishing initial rapport with the children.)"

28: Spiro--90
116, 854, 151

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A universal feature in picking up a baby is to smell it. Whether the mother picks the baby from its cradle, or a 'stranger' takes the baby from the arms of another, she will first place her face in its belly, and its genital region, nuzzling it, and smell it with deep and long draughts. The same behavior can be no more articulated than the reasons for our kissing babies. It is a sign of affection, both the form (smelling) and the region (genital) being culturally determined. It should be remarked here, though we shall have occasion to return to this point, that the olfactory sense is very important in this culture, the natives loving highly scented odors, such as cheap perfume, and abominating any offensive odor. ('it stink too much'.) (8)"

"8. Olfactory values of course, are in part universal, and in part culturally conditioned. As a whole the natives and I agreed on those odors we considered offensive. There were two exceptions. Their preserved breadfruit emitted a rancid odor that I found very repugnant, whereas our mild American cheese repelled the natives."

28: Spiro--90 [2]
116, 854, 863, 514, 827

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ikalik

"The infant wears swaddling clothes until it has learned to crawl. The wearing of these clothes--a cloth--is a function of desire for cleanliness, rather than modesty, for the moment the infant begins to crawl, the cloth drops off. When an adult holds an infant on his lap, he will usually hold the cloth under it, so that he should not be soiled should the infant choose to defecate or urinate. This precaution is necessary because sphincter control is not taught the child until it can walk and talk, that is, not until he can understand the demand and has mastered the motor behavior to carry it out. The infant's faeces are disposed of in the lagoon, whereas its urine is merely wiped up. Not only is there no attempt made to toilet-train the infant, but the adults do not convey to the infant by means of facial expressions or gestures any exaggerated abhorence for excrement. Adults themselves are ashamed of excretory processes, but do not view excrement as dangerous or harmful, or as material with which to work evil magic. And this attitude, of course, is reflected in their reaction to the excretory behavior of their infants. For example, while I was sitting in a house with a young man and his infant daughter, the daughter defecated on the bare thigh of her father. He gave absolutely no overt indications of disgust or anger, but laughingly called his wife to remove the faeces from his thigh. The infant, by this time, was having great fun, and with real glee (9) defecated once again, with the same parental consequences."

"9. I appreciate the anthropomorphism involved in this description. And yet, the behavioral constellation was what in an adult one would call, glee--sparkling and laughing eyes, cooing, and exaggerated movement of arms and legs."

28: Spiro--90-91
116, 827, 863, 514

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-12
Ifalik

"Despite the lack of any exaggerated distaste towards faeces, which the infant may learn from his parents, it soon learns that the adults have peculiar attitudes towards faeces and defecation. For example, many babies play with their faeces, smear them on their hands and face, and sometimes eat them. Again, the parents show their usual restraint in dealing with this behavior, but they do deal with it. They prevent the infant from cultivating this pastime. The infant is not punished, however, because he knows no better. ('Bout baby! He no savvy nothing.') [91]

Once he learns to walk and to talk, however, he is only trained in sphincter control, but he learns that his parents are concerned about his bowel movements. He is taught to defecate in the lagoon, not in the house or on land. If he does not readily learn to use the lagoon he is reprimanded and shamed, though not beaten. Any person, parent and stranger alike, will rebuke a child for polluting the ground or the house. The parents often invoke the authority of the chiefs in chastizing the child. 'Somebody come this place (that is, to our house), very bad this place. (because of the excrement). Chief some, he angry to this place. You no afraid chief?'

My observations indicate that few, if any children rebel against this training, and I observed none who did not observe the practice of repairing to the lagoon, after they had been taught. The attitude towards urine is much more lax. Children who do not as yet wear clothes urinate on the ground with impunity, but not in the house.

28: Spiro--90-91 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 827, 863, 514 Ifalik

But the parents are not only concerned that the children defecate in the right place, they are also concerned that they defecate regularly. Parents often ask their children if they have defecated, and are alarmed by constipation, so that if the child should not defecate for a few days, he is deemed sick, and is given 'medicine', water and herbs, which ostensibly have a cathartic value. Despite the occurance of constipation, however, the parents themselves are confident that children did not deliberately withhold their faeces as a form of obstinacy."

28: Spiro--91 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 551, 851, 183 Ifalik

"The child is given a name at the age of three months. And, here, once again we face the 'problem of ethnographic truth'. First of all, we may point out the agreements. The name is given around the third month. There is no ceremony connected with the naming nor any magical or mystical associations with respect to names, either children or adult, with one exception: a sick person given a new name in order to hasten the departure of the illness, though the natives do not know why name changing should have this result. Names are sex-linked, so that a boy will never be given a girl's name, and vice versa. Names have no etymological significance or meaning. So much for the agreement. The disagreement enters with reference to who actually gives the name. My committee on infant development informed me that the maternal grandparents name the child usually after a dead kinsman. The chiefs maintained that the parents name the child, and that it is not named after any one. Finally, an actual experience sustained neither. In giving a Rorschach to a young married woman, I asked her the name of her baby, and she replied that the baby had not been named as yet. Saying that I should wait a few minutes, she entered her house, had a brief conversation with the people inside, and came back, saying they had just named the baby, so-and-so. The genealogies reveal that practically every person living and dead has a unique name, though there is some overlapping, and that these names are derived from combinations and permutations of a number of prefixes and suffixes that can produce a vast number of names."

28: Spiro--91-92 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 862, 593, 827 Ifalik

"Weaning, as we have seen, is begun in the third month, the infant being fed some toddy and fish as part of its regular diet. As soon as it begins to crawl, breadfruit and taro are added to the diet morning, noon, and afternoon. However, the breast is still given the child even to the age of three and after that age should the child desire the breast, the mother will prevent him from suckling, shaming him, by telling him that the other children will laugh at him. Should a new birth occur, however, the child is immediately deprived of the breast, the mother claiming that they do not have enough milk for two sucklings. The advent of a new baby, then may cause decided oral frustration for the older sibling. [92]

This oral deprivation is unquestionably one source of a sibling rivalry that is apparent in all stages of the child's development. This rivalry is as apparent to the natives as it is to the ethnographer. The older sibling, the natives agree, does not like the younger. The parents tell him that the infant is his sibling and that he should love him and be kind to him. The child, so the natives claim, takes this preachment to heart, so that 'he savvy, he like.' But in reality, the problem is not so simple. It is rare that 'he savvy, he like.' The natives themselves pointed out that following the birth of an infant, the older sibling becomes 'ill.' Often he cannot eat or sleep, and then a special medicine is prepared for him. In many cases the older sibling actually strikes the infant. The natives attribute this 'sickness' of the child to the lonesomeness it had felt for its mother

28: Spiro--91-92
116, 862, 593, 827

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

during her ten day confinement in the birth-hut, which persists for a time even after her ten day confinement in the birth-hut, which persists for a time even after her return. But, they all agreed that it does not last very long, and the sibling rivalry is soon dissipated. This is not in accord with the facts, however, for it continues throughout childhood, as we shall soon see. (10)"

"10. That the natives should deny the persistence of sibling rivalry should not occasion any surprise. Until Freud, western peoples refused to 'see' this phenomenon."

28: Spiro--92
116, 862

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"At the completion of the weaning, the child eats the same food as the adults. Eating problems do occur, however, and the parents are indulgent with the child. If he does not care for the food already prepared, they will attempt to give him other food. If nothing appeals to him, he is 'sick', and medicine is prepared for him."

28: Spiro--92 [2]
116, 846, 854

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"As pointed out above the mother does not leave her home for the first three months after the birth. At the end of the three month period, she may go about her work, but the infant is not taken with her. It is left in the care of another adult (or adults), and is never left alone, even when it sleeps. It is never left in the care of a child, but may be cared for by an older boy or girl, sibling or non-relative. Though she is permitted to leave her home, the mother does not remain away for a long period, while the infant is still nursing. If she remains away from her baby too long, her nipples feel sore, from which she understands that the baby wants to fed. It should be remembered, moreover, that the mother is never more than twenty minutes from her baby at any point of the island."

28: Spiro--92-93 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 2
116, 854, 833, 181 Ifalik

"It may be asked whether the infant observes parental intercourse. Theoretically, the answer is no, since the parents are prohibited from having intercourse till the baby can walk. Whether this taboo is observed is, as has already been indicated, a moot point. However, there are a number of other people sleeping in the same house, and though it is pitch dark in the house, particularly within the mosquito netting, it is possible that the infant might observe the copulation of other members of the household, or at least hear the sounds from within a particular net, but this is a point on which I have no evidence. There is abundant tertiary evidence, however, which indicates that the infants (and children) do not observe intercourse. It is to be emphasized that the Ifaluk are a very puritanical people, and react with horror at the thought of having their genitals exposed in the presence of members of the same sex. When emerging from the lagoon after bathing, for example, the men cover their genitalia with their hands, though they are remote from any women. Parents do not permit children to see them nude, whether their own children or others. They do not conceal their nakedness from tiny infants, however, since the infant is still [93] a 'fool boy.'

The shame of physical exposure is not intensified in the case of any practice. The shame of being observed in the act of copulation would be almost too great to bear. Should an adult inadvertently see a couple having intercourse, the man will pledge him to silence with an offer of a gift. ('I give you a present; you no tell people, bout ashamed

28: Spiro--92-93 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 854, 833, 181 Ifalik

too much.'). And this fear of exposure extends to infants as well. Should an infant observe a person in the act of intercourse, he would be as ashamed, as if it were an adult. When I asked if the shame extended to the parent's own infant, the immediate reply was that this was a purely hypothetical problem since the taboo on parental intercourse during the infancy of the child would automatically prevent this eventuality."

28: Spiro--92 [3]
116, 854, 513

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The infant sleeps between its parents. It continues to sleep with them until about the age of three, or until the birth of another baby. With the birth of the baby, the older infant is not only deprived of its mother's breast, but is also compelled to relinquish its sleeping position."

28: Spiro--93
116, 842, 854

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Infants are not only greatly desired, as we have already seen, but they are given the greatest care and indulgence possible. The infant is idealized to the point that its over-indulgence and pampering become phantasties from the standpoint of Western standards. We have seen that no infant is ever left alone, day or night, asleep or awake, until it can walk. To isolate a baby would be to commit a major atrocity, for if a baby is left alone, 'by and by dies, no more people.'

Should an infant cry, it is immediately picked up in an adult's arms, coddled, consoled or fed. Thus the baby is in a state of almost complete dependence on the adults about it. This oversolicitude extends to the two and three year olds as well, assuming that another baby has not entered the household. Should the baby fall, and begin to cry, he is immediately picked up."

28: Spiro--93-94 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 3
116, 858, 159 Ifalik

"To claim that the infant is king in Ifaluk is not to exaggerate the situation at all. The infant is always in control of a social situation, and easily dominates the adults, bending them to his will. Two examples from my field notes will serve to illustrate this point. Talimera, the young man who became my interpreter, and I were interviewing Nautrimar, the mother of a baby about eighteen months old. Now Nautrimar and I were very close friends, and she was always eager to be of help to me, so that the obstreperous conduct of her baby daughter was not to her liking. The baby was running about the yard constantly, shouting, and generally creating a disturbance that made it all but impossible to continue with our interview. She would catch the baby, holding it in her arms, but it would soon leave her arms to run about. Talimera would pursue her, and hold her for a while, but she would soon leave him, so that her mother would have to chase her again, and pick her up. When the infant wanted to leave her mother's lap, however, she was not restrained, and would again run away, this time, being caught by her mother's sister. This little comedy act continued for the better part of an hour. All were mildly irritated by the child's behavior, but none made the slightest attempt to restrain her, verbally or physically. The baby was in complete control of the situation.

Another example is even more telling. Tiovis, a 15 month old boy, was brought to the canoe house by his maternal grandfather Auelimar.

28: Spiro--93-94 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 858, 159 Ifalik

During the half hour I remained in the canoe house, he perpetrated the following deeds, without the slightest display of anger on the part of the adults, or the smallest attempt to restrain him. Tiovis began by pushing his hands into the face of Auelimar, pulling his beard, and then shoving his hands under Auelimar's chin, so that the latter had to strain his neck upward. He then grabbed a pole and began to strike Mawaulimar, an olderly man, who saved himself by removing himself from the scene, sitting behind a canoe. Tiovis then began to play with the rope fibre that Auelimar had in his basket. It requires much time and patience to sort out the fibres, which are to be twisted into rope. Yet when Tiovis began to mess them up so that they became gnarled, Auelimar merely resorted them, and replaced them in the basket. Ramen, a young married man came into [94] the canoe house, and took Tiovis in his arms, whereupon the latter did to him what he had done to his grandfather--push his hands in his face, etc.

All this while, Tiovis is the center of attention, the men laughing at his antics, and having a merry time observing them. The theory behind this almost fantastic indulgence is that the baby is completely innocent, and is not responsible for its behavior. ('no savvy nothing.'). This theory is consistent with the lack of punishment of the child, but surely it need not prevent the adults from restraining some of the infant's behavior which is both irritating and destructive. (11)"

"11. The same theory is employed to explain the indulgence of the whims and aggressions of the abnormal children. The latter often throw stones at others, which may seriously bruise someone, yet no attempt is made to restrain them, since they 'no savvy nothing.'"

28: Spiro--94 [2]
116, 858, 865

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The generally accepted adult view of infants, therefore, has it that the infant is a powerless, innocent, creature, who must neither be restrained nor punished. The resultant adult behavior is one of indulgence, and little attempt is made to train the child until he can walk and/or talk."

28: Spiro--94 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 123, 858, 831 Ifalik

"It is to be expected that this pattern of indulgence induces a low threshold of frustration tolerance, so that if the infant is inhibited it reacts violently. One example, from many, will illustrate this point. As I entered a courtyard one day, a baby boy about two years old, came over to sit on my lap. He soon discovered the pencil in my pocket, and began to play with it. (12) After a time I took the pencil from him. This minor frustration caused him great grief. He shook his body and head violently, and then began to scream--a genuine temper tantrum. But the moment I returned the pencil the crying ceased, and he became all smiles. Yet again when I stood up to leave, he screamed violently, and would not be pacified."

"12. His play is irrelevant in this connection, but is of psychoanalytic interest. He repeatedly removed the pencil from my pocket and reinserted it. He would then place it between his thighs, and then stick either himself or me with it. This sequence continued for some time. It was obvious also, that he was 'playing for the gallery', since he would look to see if the people were observing him, and if he noticed that I was unattentive, he would give a shout of rage."

28: Spiro--94 [3]
116, 863

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"We have already described the tiolet training. The infant is not expected to control his sphincters until he can walk. It is then that his parents train him to retire to the lagoon to defecate, and apparently there is no problem involved in this training, since neither my observations, nor the reports of my informants indicated any."

28: Spiro--94-95 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 864 Ifalik

"When the infant passes the 'no savvy nothing stage' its parents are concerned about his sexual behavior. Adults insist that infants engage in no sexual activity. However, I have often observed infants masturbating, or at least manipulating their genitals. (13) [95] Apparently, however, the adult's view of children does not permit them to accept the fact of infantile sexuality. Once the infant reaches the age of understanding, sexual activity is strictly interdicted. Heterosexual behavior does not occur, at least I observed none. But masturbation does occur, and is strongly disapproved of. Masturbation, it is believed, stunts the child's growth, and/or to cause illness, and a child persisting in it is beaten."

"13. Adults, do not masturbate children, and are both shocked and amused at the suggestion of the possibility. However, the adult practice of smelling the genitals may provide an erotic stimulation for the infant."

28: Spiro--95
116, 291, 864

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This prohibition of sexual behavior does not extend to adult patterns of sexual modesty, however. The little children, both male and female, are completely nude, and the adults make no attempt to inculcate modesty with respect to clothes. The children are not given clothes to wear until they 'savvy shame.' The inception of the sense of shame reveals a sharp sexual difference, however. Boys are nude until the ages of seven or eight, but girls begin to wear skirts at about the age of three or four."

28: Spiro--95 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 866, 515 Ifalik

"Dependency training has its inception at this time as well. The child who can walk is expected to wash himself, for example. Often, if the child is very dirty, it will be washed by an older sibling or adult, even at the age of eight or nine."

28: Spiro--95 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 865 Ifalik

"Inhibition of aggression is demanded of children at an early age. Fighting of any kind, even in jest, is prohibited by adults. Fighting is invariably punished by beating, being thrown into the lagoon, and other forms of punishment. The same holds true for lying or stealing. The training is effective. I have never seen children above the ages of eight or nine fighting."

28: Spiro--95 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 856, 802 Ifalik

"Talking is stimulated by the parents. When the baby shows signs of talking, they encourage him to acquire a vocabulary. For reason, which I could not ascertain, they first teach them to count. (14)

Parents take great pleasure in their children's speech, and are praised by others for the progress their child makes."

"14. The children learn not only how to count, but the motor behavior associated with it. That is, the people often count the number of persons in a house by pointing with their lips. The children soon pick up this motor behavior.

It may be pointed out, incidentally, that lip pointing is also a sign of agreement or affirmation. The women, who were quite shy at first, would answer questions in the affirmative by pointing their lips."

28: Spiro--95 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 856, 593 Ifalik

"Parents and other adults encourage children to walk, when they first show signs of walking, but they do not stimulate them to walk prematurely. As they take the child to the lagoon in the morning, they may hold his hand, permitting him to walk, rather than be carried. (15) The baby's walking is facilitated by a wicker-work structure, built like a play-pen. It has a narrow base, and the sides fan out as they extend from the base to the top. The infant is placed in it at certain times, and his standing is supposed to strengthen his legs. (16)"

"15. With reference to sibling rivalry, it is of interest to note that older siblings have been observed knocking down their younger siblings when the latter begin to walk.

16. This structure presents a minor light on the form-function controversy in anthropology, and illustrates the danger of interpreting a culture trait on formal grounds [96] only. Its form looks like a play-pen, and I was confident that it was. Later as I came to know the culture, I was perplexed: why should a play-pen be used in a culture in which small children are never left alone. It was not till a number of months had passed, and I had actually seen one used, that my question was finally answered."

28: Spiro--96
116, 857, 513, 776

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The younger children have no regular sleeping habits, nor are they compelled to sleep at designated times by their parents. None are required to take afternoon naps, sleeping when they are tired, and they are not required to retire at an earlier hour than the adults. However, they cannot stay out after dark, because the parents warn them of the alus that may be abroad at night. Sleep, generally, is viewed as a completely natural phenomenon, induced by fatigue. And it is thus explained to children, if they ask."

28: Spiro--96 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 842, 864, 857 Ifalik

"Children begin to ask questions about this time, and the parents or adults usually answer them realistically, there being no body of knowledge that is concealed from them. Questions concerning the mystery of birth, either their own or of others, occur, according to some informants, but not according to others. In a study of all children in the island, it was revealed that none had any conscious conception of childbirth and conception, and none had ever asked their parents. This survey was substantiated by a number of adult informants who insisted that their children had never asked. On the other hand, at least one man claimed that his children did ask, and that he had explained to them the processes of conception and childbirth. The adult informants who claimed that their children had not inquired into human parenthood, asserted that they did inquire into animal parenthood, in which case the parents were evasive. When the child asked where a dog, for example had come from, they would answer that it had come from Rauau or Felarik, (naming various districts in the island.) If this answer did not satisfy the child, and he attempted to probe further, he was rebuked, and told to stop inquiring further into the matter. ('What you talk about to me? You stop. You no talk about that.')

On all other questions however, the children are given the available information, if there is information. On the other hand, if the parents don't know, they discourage the child from probing. For example, children who ask about the creation or function of heavenly bodies, or other natural phenomena, such as the wind: 'You ask me? Me savvy? Very bad talk, I no savvy.'"

28: Spiro--96 [3]
116, 869, 761

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If the culture does provide answers in traditional terms, the parents do transmit the information to the children. Causes of death, the informants said, are not asked in the abstract. That is, children do not ask about the cause of death, but do ask the cause of the death of 'X'. If the person had been ill, his death is attributed to illness. If he had died suddenly, they admit candidly that they do not know."

28: Spiro--96 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 827, 869 Ifalik

"Children ask the meaning or purpose of various reflexes, and are answered in accord with the traditional body of knowledge. Sneezing (mozie) is inexplicable. However, protracted sneezing is a portend of illness, and should an adult be seized with a sneezing fit at night, he will go to sleep in another house.

Yawning (maulagtel) results from fatigue.

A hiccough (alowei) is caused by food being stuck in the throat. If it continues there is no known remedy. I have seen men hiccough for a long time, without attempting to do anything to stop it."

28: Spiro--96 [5]
116, 828

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Dreams (tal), are inexplicable. [WPM: see p. 96, paragraphs 4,5,6,7.]"

28: Spiro--97 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 538 Ifalik

"There are no children's stories to stimulate the child's imagination, nor any other tales of fancy."

28: Spiro--97 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1
116, 856, 593, 621, 821 Ifalik

"As the child grows older and becomes aware of the world about him, he also becomes aware of the patternings of relationship and of interraction between himself and others about him. Before examining the pattern of those relationships, it may be well to point out two facts of general consideration. Though the family is the most important institution in defining patterns of interraction, the family is not as crucial a group here as it is in other cultures for two reasons. In the first place, the family is seldom together at one time. The father is in the canoe house, the mother in the taro patch, the children are playing, the young people are about their activities. There are few meals at which the entire family is present, or required to be present, people eating when and where they choose. On the other hand, there is little distinction between one's own relatives and 'strangers.' Every one knows every one else in the village, so that the child moves in a world in which there are no strange faces or strange people towards whom one's behavior must be different. All individuals look alike and all treat him alike. If he is hungry any of them give him food; if he needs something anyone will try to satisfy his need. Every house is open to him and he never has to learn that some houses are different from others; he can walk into any house (without knocking) at any time of the day or night.

These two facts add up to one general point of psychological significance. Children grow up in an atmosphere of at-homeness with many people, but there are no deep ties

28: Spiro--97 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 856, 593, 621, 821 Ifalik

with a particular group of people, known as the family. There is a more intimate relationship between the child and his household than with other people. But, except for infants, there is no greater intimacy between the individual and his primary family than between him and his household."

28: Spiro--97-98
116, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1 -2
Ifalik

"We may now examine some of these patterned kin interractions. But the reader should bear in mind that interractions recorded here are empirical observations and/or generalizations. Any attempt to elicit ideal patterns of interraction from informants was futile.

Mother--child: once the mother has weaned her child, her major responsibility has been discharged. She has socialization functions, to be sure, but aside from these there is little that distinguishes her relationship to the child from that of others. The mother seems to have a more intimate relationship with her daughter than with her son. This may be a function of her responsibility to induct the daughter into female economic life. The girl, we shall see, assumes greater economic responsibility than the boy, and it is the mother that is her most important mentor. Generally, the mother's relationship to the young children is a very permissive one, so that here authority is not always readily accepted. She then may either use physical force, or perhaps acquiesce in the child's demands. For example, the mother of little two year old Velaut (male) called for him to come home while he was sitting with a group of children and myself. He refused. She then came over to where we were sitting, and he still refused. Whereupon, she lifted him bodily from the ground and carried him home. On another occasion the mothers of the children with whom I was playing asked the children to come home to eat. They refused, and the mothers could not cope with the situation. I came to their aid by taking the children home. At times the child's disobedience provokes her into anger and punishment. As I was sitting in one house, two young boys (parallel cousins), about four and five respectively, came in while we were eating some taro. They were urged by their mothers to eat, and after refusing, one was persuaded to eat something. The other refused, and when the women urged him to eat he raised his voice and shouted, no. As his mother [98] continued to encourage him to eat, he began to imitate her behavior. At this she lost her temper, seized a coconut leaf, and was going to beat him, but he jumped up and out of the house, with his mother following. He eluded her, and she returned to the house, her temper gone, all-smiles."

28: Spiro--98 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1·2
116, 593 Ifalik

"Father--child: Though the father is kept from intimate contact with the infant for some time, when he can begin to hold and play with it, his interest is as great as the mother's. After the infant is weaned, the children probably spend more time with their fathers than with their mothers. The father takes the young child to the canoe house with him, and keeps him with him for the better part of the day. The father plays with the child and even feeds him if the mother is away in the taro patch. My impression, is that the father or men in general, make a much greater fuss over the young children than do the mothers. If a child needed medication, almost invariably the father, not the mother, would bring him to me, and would ask what could be done. When a young girl would come to draw for me, the father would accompany her. During a stiff blow in the middle of November, I met Taraveliman, a young father of three children. He was very concerned and worried about his children, saying that if the storm were to drive the family out of the house it would create a real problem since one child was a baby, and another had a wounded leg. Furthermore, the third had been adopted by a family in Felarik, and he did not know how he was faring, so that, when I met him on the path, he was on his way to see the latter. Interest of parents in children is by no means confined to their childhood. Parents take great pride in the activities of their older children. Dr. Burrows collected many songs, in which the mother praises her son for some accomplishment. During the dances, we observed, Tom was very proud of his sons and would take every opportunity to point out some feature of their dancing. Before one of the dances, we observed, Tom was very proud of his sons and would take every opportunity to point out some feature of their dancing. Before one of the dances, Wotriliwok, a lad of about twenty was being decorated by his mother. She was making a great fuss over him, but when he saw that I was observing them he told her to stop. Parents become lonesome for their grown sons and daughters who have gone on a trip or moved to another island, and the latter become lonesome for their parents. One of the most important reasons for inter-island travel is to visit with one's departed family. Tom called his dog by a native name, which means 'You have been absent for a long time', in memory of his son who was in Yap and had not returned for a long time."

28: Spiro--98-99 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 603 Ifalik

"Grandmother--grandchild: The grandmother, both maternal and paternal plays an intimate role in the life of the child, being little different from that of the mother. The grandmother feeds, clothes, washes, and trains the child. In the house, either mother or grandmother will attend to the baby's needs. The grandmother (or grandfather) will watch the young child when he plays, to prevent it from getting into mischief. She will carry it about with her. If he is ill, the grandmother is often more concerned than the parents. In the three cases of serious children's illness that occured while we were on the island (17) it was the grandmother who seemed to be in charge of the situation. She held the child, fed it, took care of it, etc. The grandmother also helps to train the child in the group values. Talemelemar, about five, refused to share food he was eating with Taraveligar, a boy of about seven. His grandmother rebuked him, saying that the latter was the elder of the two, and hence entitled to greater respect.

At the same time, the grandmother's relationship to the child is a very permissive one. Iliakong, about four, wished to have some object, which her grandmother [99] refused her. She then became angry and began to hit her grandmother on her legs, and her chest, after which she began to pull her nipple quite hard. The grandmother accepted this in good grace, and did nothing, except to exclaim 'yok', and jokingly called her a 'male-bush.' Another example, taken directly from my field notes, will illustrate this point. I was playing with Iliakong and Talemelemar when Iliakong's grandmother came

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"17. Iliakong's epileptic seizure; Arivelibung's attack by a dog; Talavusman's deeply cut knee."

out and said she wanted to wash her. When she refused, her grandmother asked me if I could influence her, but even my prestige was of no avail this time, and she continued her play. Her grandmother began to plead with her, as she had already grated the coconut, which is used for soap, but her pleading was in vain. In the meantime Iliakong had found a button, and came to her grandmother to show it to her. Talemelemar came up behind her and knocked it out of her hand, whereupon she fell to the ground, in a terrific tantrum, screaming, kicking, swinging her arms. She then picked up some sand, and was about to throw it at me, when she saw her grandmother, and threw it at her instead. This proved to be the turning point, for she then got up laughing and singing, and meekly followed her grandmother to the lagoon to be washed. And all of this elicited no scolding or punishment."

28: Spiro--99 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 604 Ifalik

"Mother's sister--child: The mother's sister, again, plays almost the same role as the mother. She feeds the child, plays with it, cares for it, etc. At time, if one did not know the actual genetic tie, it would be difficult to infer from behavior who the actual mother was. If the mother had two young children, it is often her sister who meets the emotional needs of the elder. One day, for example, a number of people were sitting in the home of Talavusman, playing with his baby brother. He was completely ignored, and looked very downcast. His maternal aunt, observing his dejection, called him to her, painted his face, and immediately he was all smiles again."

28: Spiro--99 [2]
116, 602

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"These [WPM: Mother--child, Father-child, Grandmother--grandchild, Mother's sister--child] are the most important relationships between the generations."

28: Spiro--99 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 593, 867, 855 Ifalik

"In the same generation the older siblings, particularly the girls, function as protectors and guardians of the younger. When the babies are able to walk they play under the surveilance of the older girls--six or seven to eleven or twelve. Usually, two or three older girls will be in charge of a group of younger children, not only their own siblings, but the other children in the neighborhood. The smaller children can and do attach themselves to older boys, as well. But generally speaking, it is the specific task of the girls to care for them. This gives the elder sibling somewhat of a position of power over the younger, who at times resents it. I have, however, observed no cases of the usurpation of this power, though there are many cases of the opposite, that is, the refusal of the younger child to obey the older. Often an older sister would come to take a younger sibling home, and the latter would refuse. The older sibling often functions as a mother-surrogate, feeding and carrying the younger. It is a bit ludicrous to observe a young seven or eight year old girl carrying a three year old brother or sister. It is also amusing to observe the older ones trying to initiate the younger ones into the cultural values. While playing on the beach, one afternoon, the older girls tried frantically to get the younger children off the beach. When I asked for the reason, they explained that the men were coming in from fishing and that it was taboo for children to witness the bringing in of the fish. The young children refused to obey the girls, but I prevailed upon them to do so."

28: Spiro--99-100
116, 867, 562, 855

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Not only the older sibling but any older boy or girl may play the role, of protector or guardian, as well as enforce the cultural values. One afternoon, Iliakong and Legasugabuk were doing a bwarux dance on the beach. Woromai, a lad of about 19 saw them from his canoe. He immediately shouted at them to stop the dance, which [100] they did.

There seems to be little question but that the men and older boys exercise greater authority over the children than do the women and older girls."

28: Spiro--100-101 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 4
116, 593, 855, 123 Ifalik

"The relationship between siblings, indicated evidence of sibling rivalry, though the evidence is not complete. Sibling rivalry can be expressed in many ways, directly and indirectly, overtly and symbolically. There is little question in my mind that much of the play of the children is an expression of this rivalry. Here I only want to record one of two instances of overt attempts of an older child to compete with a younger sibling for his mother's love. While sitting with a group of people, a young mother was sitting nursing a few-month's old baby. Her four year old son came out, stood behind her with his arms about her neck. After a time, he took his mother's breast from the mouth of his baby brother. His mother sent him away. In another case Lautrimar, a woman of about 35 was holding her baby daughter. Talemelemar, her five old son, walked over to her, put his arms about her waist, and began to fondle her breasts. She rebuffed him at first, but finally picked him up, and carried them both. A final example: Talavusman's father was playing with the young baby, and the Talemememar was looking on very enviously. He left them to sit on the lap of his mother, but in a short time she told him to get off. He at once grabbed a stick, and threatened his little parallel cousin with it. (This, of course, is an obvious displacement of aggression). He then took a cloth, covering his penis very ostentatiously, at which everyone laughed. Since the two younger babies in the house were girls, and they received all the attention, this little bit of behavior was probably an attempt to be a girl, so that he too could receive attention of the adults.

28: Spiro--100-101 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 593, 855, 123 Ifalik

This latter incident brings us to crucial point in the emotional development of the child. As we have emphasized repeatedly the baby is king in Ifaluk. Not only are babies desired, not only are their every wants fulfilled, but they are the constant center of attention. They are always the focal point of the household. This orientation, moreover, remains constant. The adult eyes are always focused on the babies, so that once the baby grows older he is out of focus, so to speak, and a new baby is now in focus. There is little eye accommodation, which would enable both the infant and the growing baby to be in focus. In other words, the king is dethroned. His place of centrality is now usurped by a younger infant. From the position of extreme overt love and attention he now finds himself ignored. Adults are still concerned about him, but they leave him to shift for himself. He is free to come and go when he wants, to eat where he wants, as long as he is not too far from sight. But what is even more important, the constant overt affection displayed towards them when young, is now withdrawn. I have seldom seen a child four or five years old being held in an adult's arms, kissed, hugged, or in general receive over, physical affection. From a state of infancy--overabundant love--they pass directly to a state of adulthood, as far as the diaplay of affection is concerned. The result of this differential treatment is a child starving for affection. And much of child behavior--agressive behavior towards adults and children, rivalry, is certainly a result of this age differential treatment.

This behavioral fact, though it is patent, did not assume significance for me for some time. I had attributed the fondness of the children for me as gratitude for the candy I gave them and as the novel experience of knowing a person of different physical type. And, though these factors played some role, I later realized that they were by no means the major factor. The fact is that I was the only adult in their world that showed genuine interest in them, that played with them, that displayed overt affection for them. In other words, I was playing the role vis a vis [101] them that their parents and other adults had played when they were babies. I was filling a deep emotional need in their lives. This first began to dawn on me as I was sitting in a canoe house watching the men doing a repair job. Talemelemar, who is definitely a 'problem child', aggressive, uncooperative, disobedient, etc., came in and sat down next to me. He was strangely quiet and unboisterous--abnormal behavior for him--so I kept one eye on him and one on the men at work. After many abortive attempts he snuggled against me, resting his head on my arm. I put my arm around him, drawing him to me, whereupon he nestled against me, sinking his head into my lap. And for the duration of the afternoon he lay on my lap with a look of peace and serenity that I had thought he was incapable of. The bully and devil were completely gone. This was, for me, and impressive and crucial experience. For the first time I gained some insight into Talemelemar, and through him into the other children. I had done something that no other adult had done since he had been a baby. I had

28: Spiro--100-101 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-4
116, 593, 855, 123 Ifalik

shown some affection for him, had not rejected him, and had not, when later some babies came into the canoe house, discarded him in favor of them Later, this impression was confirmed in many other individual cases of children who were withdrawn and terribly insecure, but who warmed up to me when I gave them the same kind of affection."

28: Spiro--101-102 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-3
116, 593, 855, 578, 123 Ifalik

"But what is even more impressive than this adult absorption with the infant, which results, in the ignoring of the emotional needs of the child (unwitting rejection), is the conscious ignoring and rejection of the child. The minutest frustration of the infant is attended to immediately, whereas even larger frustrations of the child are not only ignored, but often provoke amusement. A few examples may illuminate this point. One afternoon as I was resting in our tent I heard a tremendous outcry coming from the household behind us. It sounded like Talemelemar or Iliakong crying, and after it continued for a long time I became very irritated and went to discover the source of the trouble. As I approached the house, I saw that the disturber was neither of the two younger children, but rather Lemalialok, a girl of about seven. She was sitting on the ground, outside of her house, wailing at the top of her lungs. The wails seemed to be of frustration rather than of pain, and I remained to observe her, though she did not see me. Very soon, members of the household, some of whom were sitting in the house and some outside of the doorway, saw me and told Lemalialok that I was watching her. All this time, it is to be emphasized, the adults did nothing at all to appease her feelings, permitting her to lie on the ground, screaming to the point of exhaustion. When she was informed that I was watching her, she turned around, looked at me, and continued with her screaming. I walked towards her, and asked her why she was crying, and she answered that Leangteisai,

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28: Spiro--101-102 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 593, 855, 578, 123 Ifalik

a sister a few years older than herself, had taken a knife from her. After talking to her, and giving her some candy, she finally stopped her crying. If I had not intervened she might have persisted in her behavior for an hour, and no one would have intervened. (18)

Another time I had been typing and was disturbed by crying coming from a house near us, crying which continued for a minimum of twenty minutes, after which I decided to investigate the trouble. It was three year old Lepiemar. It seems that her mother was holding her (the mother's) grandchild, and Lepiemar wanted her to hold her, but her mother refused, and shoved her away. Here is the rejection of the child and an obvious (to the child) preference for the younger baby. She sobbed and wailed, but her mother made absolutely no attempt to appease her. (19)

"18. When she stopped crying I called to Leangteisai, and asked her the cause of the difficulty. She gave me the same reason, but she told me the story with a smirk and a look of superiority on her face, --another of many examples of sibling rivalry.

19. The frustration stimulus may seem slight. But we have already indicated that infantile over-indulgence has created a low-threshold of frustration tolerance."

28: Spiro--101-102 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 593, 855, 578, 123 Ifalik

[102] On another occasion, four year old Lezabung, was the culprit. Again I heard a long protracted crying before I went to investigate the cause. Her mother, older sister, and four women were all sitting outside the house, but none made any gesture to help her. When she saw me, she came running to me, and wept bitter tears on my shoulder. Unfortunately, I did not ascertain the cause of her misery, as my linguistic ability, poor at the best, could not cope with the sounds of the crying girl."

28: Spiro--102 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 858, 561, 865 Ifalik

"The children in this group--between the latency period and pre-puberty are, unquestionably, the least favored group. The infants are pampered and overindulged. The pre-puberty children, though not indulged, have a favorable position. They are economic assets, and hence have the respect of their parents and adults. They enjoy many adult prerogatives, such as assistance in adult work, free mobility, and, in the case of the boys, a position of equality in the canoe houses, where they may lounge or work as of right, and not by sufferance. The intermediate group has none of these privileges. Furthermore, having been dethroned by the infant, they find themselves subservient to the older children. The latter order them around, have them fetch objects for them, etc.

This means that they have no visible means of ego support. The older children receive their emotional response from their peers, looking to them for esteem and affection, and together can pit themselves, if necessary, against the adult world. The younger children do not have that source. Having experienced a traumatic rejection they have not yet learned to establish genuine interractional patterns with their peers. Furthermore, they are still attempting to ingratiate themselves with their parents, and view their peers as possible threats to such attempts. Thus, as we shall soon see, there is much rivalry between the children for the attention of the adult, and aggression between

28: Spiro--102 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 858, 561, 865 Ifalik

themselves. Since, children are instructed from the time they can speak that aggression is the most heinous offence, and they are punished should they fight, there would probably be much more of it were it allowed fuller expression."

28: Spiro--102 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 865, 857, 578 Ifalik

"Some simple examples of aggression may be described. Five year old Talavusman had cut his leg, and as I applied merthiolate to the cut, he began to cry. Iliakong and Lezabung, who were sitting with us, began to make fun of him, laughed at him, and imitated his crying.

Lemalialok told Talavusman to sit down. He refused and spit in her face. Talemelemar, who was present, then spit in Talavusman's face.

A group of children were digging for some roots. Talemelemar tried to dig for the root of some girl. She pushed him aside, and he fell on his face, crying. While digging, Iliakong smeared dirt all over Talavusman, who withdrew from the scene.

Often, the aggression is minor, but the reaction is severe. The children fight over the possession of the most trifling object, and the loser weeps bitter tears, usually falling to the ground screaming. When playing, the children are constantly frustrating each other, and they then burst into sham screaming. I say sham, because the tears and cries disappear the moment the frustration is removed. (20)"

"20. This pattern of crying at the slightest provocation can, probably be traced to the infancy situation, where it was a mastery technique. Crying would always relieve the frustration. These children still attempt to master their reality situation with a technique that no longer works. It is typical regressive behavior, an attempt to cope with a problem on a lower level of integration. It is only after they realize that crying is of no avail that they abandon it."

28: Spiro--103
116, 855, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Rivalry between children for the attention of the adults is very obvious, and I shall restrict my examples to those in which I was the object of the rivalry. One evening, sitting in one of the houses, I saw Iliakong, but she ignored me. I began to play with one of the little girls, and immediately the former came over, laughing at me, sat on my lap, forcing her attention upon me.

Lezabung wanted some candy, and I gave her some. She asked me to carry her to her home where the other children were playing. As we walked, I asked her why she didn't eat her candy, but she only smiled coyly. The reason soon became evident. When we came to her home, she proudly showed off her candy to the other children. The whole point of my giving her, the candy and carrying her home, was to show off to the others.

Almost every day, the children would fight with each other over who was to sit on my lap, and the problem could be solved only by permitting two and even three to do so simultaneously.

Walking down the path, Talavusman and Talemelmar were fighting as to which would hold my hand. The latter struck the former with a coconut leaf, who fell to the ground crying. (An older girl picked him up and consoled him).

Two children were playing with a tennis ball, competing with each other to see who would throw it at me. When one threw it at one, the other would fall crying to the ground, and vice versa.

28: Spiro--103 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 855, 123 Ifalik

What they want, in all of these antics, is the adult's exclusive attention, and they are unwilling to share it with the others. If I held one in my arms, the others would try to intrude, and if I would not hold them as well, they would try to pull the first one off. If one can't have the desired object, the other cannot, either. One day, this would not work, and they tried other techniques. They tried to draw my attention from the child in my arms to themselves, by an exhibitionistic performance. Talemelemar rolled a record disk on its side. Velaut threw a stone in the air. Lezabung asked me to look at a sore on her leg. The others showed me sham sores, asking that I put medicine on them. Talavusman showed me two or three, and I refused to put on medicine as they were slight scratches. Talememar then grabbed Talavusman's penis, saying I should look at it."

28: Spiro--103 [2]
116, 857, 578, 865, 231

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Just as the other children try to distract the adult's attention from the child [WPM: see p. 103, paragraph 1-5.] he is with, so the latter tries to distract his attention from the other children. If, while holding Iliakong, I would turn to give some attention to other children, she would twist her face into mine, laugh and smile at me, put her lips on mine--all to keep my attention exclusively on her. Once, after I deliberately shunned her in favor of the others, she bent down, with her buttocks close to my face, and made a flatulation sound with her mouth--a favorite form of aggressive behavior.

At times, the patterns of aggression interfere with those of cooperation. As we came into a canoe house, a man offered us some taro. Talemelemar took some, and offered a piece to Iliakong, bringing it to her. She placed it on the ground, stood up, and hit him on the head.

Much of the children's aggression, of course, is sublimated in their games, which we shall describe shortly, or is displaced onto dogs. The children, as well as the adults, mistreat the dogs. A three year old was bitten by a dog, but not until he had beaten it for no reason at all with a heavy pole. Uveli, a young lad, held a dog's head on the ground, its ears squeezed together, while the children laughed with great zest. When the dog managed to escape, Uveli kicked it. Children often kick the dogs, pull their tails, and in general maltreat them."

28: Spiro--104
116, 857, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Explicit patterns of solicitude and mutual helpfulness in the young children are not too frequent. Naturally, since they play together all day, their interractional patterns are more cooperative than antagonistic. But the number of overt gestures of care and concern are not many. At times, if I gave candy to one child, he would not keep it, but would pass it on to another, and then ask for another piece for himself. At times, if two children are fighting, and one falls to the ground, a third child will pick him up. One afternoon Talavusman and Talemelemar had a battle royal, the former screaming with fear, rage, frustration, and pain all in one. Later in the afternoon, he came to have his leg rebandaged, Talemelemar came with him, and displayed great concern for his welfare. He brought him a mat on which to sit, told him how to hold his leg, and was most solicitous and sweet. But these occasions are infrequent."

28: Spiro--104 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 857, 573, 186, 591 Ifalik

"We may now examine the broader aspects of the interraction of children with their peers. From infancy through the latency period boys and girls play together, and comprise play groups. These groups are usually comprised of all the children of one district, though may at times include children from the other district of the island, as well. But rarely will a child from one island play with the children of another island, and never will he be a regular member of their play group. This does not mean that the play groups are formalized or structuralized, because they are not. It means that children of one district play together because of the factor of geographic contiguity, and thus patterns of interraction are created between them in terms of dominance, subordination, etc. But it is not only contiguity that creates the formation of these children's play groups. The adults deliberately restrict their mobility. A child under 9 or 10 is not permitted free access to the entire village, and never does he go from his district to another, unless accompanied by an older boy or girl, or an adult. This means that only children who establish intimate contacts with children outside of their own district are the aevam, adopted outside of their district who spend time both in their biological and foster parental homes. The other children see little of each other except at public gatherings--economic, political, religious. When adults are asked for the reasons for these restrictions on mobility, they give two answers. First, the parents want the children near them so that they can instruct them in certain skills, whereas if the children were constantly away, they would never learn. Second, the children might break something belonging to a stranger in another district.

This restriction on mobility is carried through into adult life. It is on rare occasions that inhabitants of one island visit the other, or even another district. Except for the women of Felarik to Falalap to work the taro patch, or the men in either island collecting their toddy from their inherited trees which may be in another island, they remain in their own districts. And, as we shall see, this pattern is reflected in the choice of a mate, who is usually chosen from one's own island."

28: Spiro--104 [3]
116, 186, 573, 883

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This pattern of district or island social isolation [WPM: see p. 104, paragraphs 2-3.] is broken at one point--the adolescent males. The girl's mobility, as she grows older is progressively restricted, rather than expanded. As a little girl, she has the range of her district. As she grows older, she is restricted more and more to her home, because of her growing economic and social responsibilities. The boy has little such responsibilities, so that as he gets older, his mobility is not restricted, and he may not only frequent another island or district, but may form close friendships or ties in them. But when he reaches the adult married state, he again remains in his own district."

28: Spiro--104-105 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 573 Ifalik

"The play group is comprised of all the boys and girls of a district. The ages may range from two or three to eight or nine. Always, however, when a large number of children play together, they are supervised by one or two girls in the latter ages. That is, two or three children may play themselves, but if a number of children [105] play, they are accompanied by two or three of the nine or ten year old girls, who act as supervisors. This is part of the girls' social responsibilities that the older boys do not share. The latter by this time have formed groups of their own."

28: Spiro--105 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 857, 524 Ifalik

"A few general notes on children's play may be in order. Generally, one is impressed (after long and constant observation) with the egocentricity of the children's play. (21) Each child seems to be acting out his own private phantasies, in conjunction, to be sure, with other children, but with his own private meanings. There is no real integrated or meaningful interraction, in the sense of role taking, but each child is trying to serve his own ends, which may be served by playing with others. That this is true is demonstrated by the fact that the child, if he is dissatisfied with the way the others are playing, will drop out of the group, and play by himself. Another characteristic is the lack of consistency or constancy in their play over a sustained period of time. They precipitately change from one activity or game to another with no warning at all, or may drop all activity for no discernable reason. Another characteristic of the older children is the randomness and/or lack of goal directed activities. When I was still new to the culture, I would ask a group of boys what they were doing, and they would answer, 'tar', nothing. When I got to know them intimately, I began to understand the truth of the remark. At the same time, their behavior may be completely random--throwing of stones, not at any target, or goal, just throwing of stones.

This randomness of behavior is even more marked in the younger children, but one would expect it in them, since they are still in an exploratory state, and at the same

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"21. Susan Isaacs states this as a general characteristic of the play of children."

time their behavior is more egocentric. Theirs is isolated play, in which the contact is geographical, not interractional. For example, two little boys, about two years old, were playing near the cook-shed, in which the women were preparing food. As I walked up, one was sitting, sucking on a blade of grass, laughing to himself, as he chewed it. The other one just sat and stared at me, after which he put his hand in his mouth, sucked it, and then kicked the dirt with his feet. He then rose, smiling, and walked from the shed. One of the women (not his mother) brought him back. He sat down, sucking his finger, then sucked a twig. Meanwhile the other boy was endlessly winding a piece of grass around and around the twig to which it was attached. The other boy began to play with his toes. This went on for a long time, each child turning from one activity to another, completely ignoring the other one."

28: Spiro--105 [2]
116, 857, 526

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

Another characteristic on all levels of child play is the absence of competitive sports, or any other competitive activity involving physical skill or prowess. One might expect to find fighting or wrestling matches, tree climbing contest, canoe races, etc., but they are completely absent."

28: Spiro--105-106
116, 857, 524, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The number of games the children play is quite limited. Boys play a game, called kat, which is similar to checkers, and which was unquestionably brought from the Japanese on Yap by the young men who had worked there. The game is played by both boys and men, often a boy playing a man. A board is ruled into horizontal and vertical lines, about nine vertical and twelve horizontal. Each player has twelve pieces of coral or coconut midribs, with which he tries to 'capture' those of his opponent, by 'jumping'. One may jump in either direction, and the 'king' may traverse as great a distance as he wants. The winner, of course, is the one who captures all of his opponent's pieces. This game, it should be noted, is the only game in which there is a 'winner', and it is not native. The boys and young men play it with avidity, [106] often with great enthousiasm. This is true, also, of the card games that the young and old men, but not children play. Adults have no competitive games or sports either. The Japanese had taught them some card games, but they had no cards. We gave them a deck, and they played the game with great relish, often spending hours at a time at it. What is significant, of course, is that the culture provides no competitive games, in which one child is victorious over another."

28: Spiro--106 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 524 Ifalik

"On windy days, the boys make human-like figures from coconut leafs (karigeli), with long legs', and when they are placed in the wind, they 'walk' for some distance.

The older boys make kites from coconut leafs, which they fly on windy days. They also make model canoes, and sail them in the lagoon on windy days.

Some of the boys made a wagon, which I saw used only once. They used four wooden disks, as wheels, used long poles as the body proper, and pulled each other around, having great fun.

A frequent activity of the boys is the spinning of tops. A coconut stem is inserted into a coconut bud, which when twirled in the hand and released on the ground, will spin very well.

The younger children, both boys and girls, play with these tops, but do not spin them too well. Usually they merely throw them into the air, retrieving them when they fall, repeating this pattern incessantly. This retrieving pattern is a favorite one. They roll plates on the ground, balls and other objects, running after them to retrieve them. Or else they play 'catch' with some object, throwing it, or batting it, back and forth."

28: Spiro--106 [2]
116, 857, 524, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1 -2
Ifalik

"A game played by two children involved rolling a bottle-cap on the ground, which the other child, would pick up, and return to the other. But the formal structure of the game is always accompanied by personal behavior and symbolism. For example, Iliakong and Talavusman were playing this game when the latter had a sore knee so that if she over-threw the mark, she would have to retrieve the cap, since he could not run. Each time she ran for the cap, she would bend her head to the ground, put her hand between her buttocks, and giggle, and he would laugh with her.

Another game, a variant of this, is rolling a ball (made of coconutleaves) on the ground, while a model windbreak is standing near one of them. The windbreak is not touched, but it fell over in the course of the play, the participants and observers would break out into peals of laughter. Instead of windbreak, they would set up a coconut fan against a stick, with the purpose of knocking it down with the ball, and if they succeeded, they would again break into great laughter. (22)

"22. From the intense excitement and the 'obscene' nature of the laughter, one could probably infer that the knocking over of the stick with a ball is an unconscious coitus phantasy, shared by all."

28: Spiro--106 [2]
116, 857, 524, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Another favorite game is the play-wearing of clothes. Both the little boys and girls (nude) would wrap cloth about them, and parade about the house or courtyard. Or they would wrap themselves in blankets, parading around the house, and then lie down together under the blanket."

28: Spiro--106-107 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 524 Ifalik

"Another game was a semi-wheelbarrow game, in which one child would hold the leg of another, the latter thus attempting to walk on one leg. [107]

The children also had a game of 'it.' Two children would stand opposite each other at about a distance of thirty feet, and another child would be 'it' in the center. The two on the outside would attempt to hit him with a coconut leaf 'ball', and the one who succeeeded would then take his place in the center.

Playing 'house', I observed only once. Two pre-pubertal girls had erected a house of coconut leaves, and had spread mats on the floor inside. They sat outside the house, like two Ifaluk matrons, making wreaths, while a number of younger children were playing in the house, and were treated as the children of the two girls."

"Much of the play and games occurs on the beach or in the water. One favorite was jumping head first into the lagoon from the run-way that led from the shore to the over-water-head. Another was just swimming or splashing in the water, or playing tag in the water. On the beach, many kinds of activities were indulged in. A few examples might be of interest. One afternoon some children dug holes in the sand, trying to build bridges between the holes. The boys became weary and lay down, and the girls covered them completely with sand, and then ran off leaving them. The younger children would often build and destroy one sand pile after another. The following description is a complete account of the sand play of an entire afternoon. Talemelemar (boy) and Iliakong (girl) were kneeling in the sand on the beach, piling sand on their legs and thighs until the laps were covered. After tiring of this, they each filled a basket with sand, filled it with water, and threw the mixture into the air. Iliakong threw a basket of sand at Talemelmar who became angry, and retaliated by throwing some at her. They, both seem to enjoy this, so they continued throwing baskets of sand at each other, enjoying the entire proceedure immensely. They suddenly tired of this and returned to the task of filling their baskets. When hers was filled, Iliakong threatened to throw it at Talemelmar. He screamed and ran into the ocean. He then returned and played in the sand about fifty feet from Iliakong. She knelt by me, playing in the sand, then came over and tried to look up my shorts. Failing in this, she returned to her play in the sand, this time making a ball from the sand, and kept patting it, and shifting it from hand to hand--singing at the same time, oblivious of everything and everyone. Suddenly she jumped up, threw the ball of sand into the air, then tried to walk on her hands, failed, and returned to her play in the sand, Talemelemar saw her trying to walk on her hands, and attempted to imitate her. They both decided to do it together, and insisted that I watch them. They soon tired of this play, and Talemelemar ran off by himself, while Iliakong reverted to the making of balls. Soon Talemelemar came running back insisting that I watch him as he jumped up and down in the shallow water. When Iliakong finished making her balls she ran to the ocean and threw them into the air. She then returned to pile sand on her legs, as Talemelemar began to make balls. Iliakong too returned to the ball-making, and both of them continued, almost monotonously, to shift the ball from one hand to the other, patting them as they did so. Iliakong accompanied this activity with song, co-ordinating her singing and patting in perfect rhythm. She made three sand balls and put them beside her basket. I touched one and accidentally broke it, at which she shouted at me, threatened to throw sand at me, and ended by burying the other two in the sand. In the meantime, Telemelemar had built a little hillock out of sand, scraping sand away from it, so that it was separated from the sand surrounding it. He then picked it up and placed it beside the ball he had made. He then made another ball and buried it too in the sand. Then, taking the other two balls on shore, he began to pack them with great care with mud. At that point, Iliakong ran to him and deliberately broke one of the balls, but he said nothing. She tries to kick the other from his hand, but he pulled it away. The ball she was carrying fell accidentally to the ground, and broke, at which they both laughed uproariously. She then threw sand at him, which he dodged. At this point it began to rain, and we all sought shelter in the canoe house."

28: Spiro--107-108
116, 857, 524, 177

(1947-4[illegible] 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The children would play other games at various times. They would attempt to climb a tree or a stump, but if seen by adults, they would be stopped. They would [108] jump into the air, trying to touch their feet before they landed on the ground. They also had a game of tag, in which they would chase each other endlessly around an imaginary circle, screaming with pleasure until they would fall exhausted to the ground.

Another game was to stand facing each other, with the palms of their hands pushing against the palms of another, and then attempt to push the other from his spot. Singing and dancing were favorite pastimes, performed individually and in groups. We shall have more to say about the dancing in another connection. Their songs and dances were imitations of the adult songs and dances, there being none which are specifically for children. The children love to sing and were eager to learn the songs that I sung. Their favorite American song was 'Patsie Orie Arie Aye' which they (and the adults, too) asked me to sing whenever they saw me. Eventually they learned the tune and the chorus, so that they would sing it by themselves.

Both boys and girls would often play in the canoes, just climbing around them, or attempt to paddle them when they were in the water."

28: Spiro--108 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 524 Ifalik

"There are no dolls for the girls to play with. The Germans, as we have pointed out elsewhere, induced the people to make dolls for export. But no one thought of using them as dolls to be played with. Apparently the play of the children with actual babies takes the place of play dolls. However, I did observe play with dolls once during our stay. Two little girls were playing with a half coconut shell. When I asked them what it was, they said it was a cat. Later they said it was a baby. They held it in their arms, and sung to it, as a mother would to a child. They then put it in a 'cradle' (a basket leaf), and swung it from the roof pillars. They played with this cradle interminably, constantly taking it down, and putting it back again, tying and untying the string. But this is the only doll play I had seen in our entire stay."

28: Spiro--108-109
116, 857, 561

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Children are seldom alone, or out of the sight or ears of the adults. Usually the locale of their play is a courtyard, in view of the women, or in front of a canoe house, in view of the men. Often sit around the canoe houses with the men, doing nothing in particular merely engaging in random movement or rest. The children are not separated from the adults by age differences, and are permitted access to adult groups and activities, so that in the canoe houses they are accepted without protest by the men, and no attempt is made to create bars, or barriers. Though children and adults have differenential [sic] interests, and though there is little question as to which group is dominant and which submissive, there is no marked dichotomy between the children's and the adults' worlds. They both live and interract in the same world, though they play differential roles. It is natural, therefore, that they should play in the canoe houses, or enter them as equals of the men. The little girls may do so as well, something which the adult women may not do, for once a woman has reached puberty she may not enter a canoe house, except with the permission of the men.

A brief quotation from my field notes may illustrate this point. The behavior here described is typical of the daily routine in the canoe houses. As I entered the canoe house, three young men were making rope, as was one of the older boys. A man in his middle twenties was just sitting, while an older man was holding his baby granddaughter on his lap, and another young married man was lying with his baby son on his stomach. Three young children were lying about. I lay down on a mat, and one of the little girls came over to lie down beside me, putting her arms about me. The baby girl began to mess up the rope of one of the young men, who only laughed, picked her up, and began to play with her. She was then taken by another of the young men, who passed her on to another, until she made the round.

One of the young boys began to make rope, the other watching him. In a little while the latter attempted to wrest the rope from the former, whereupon he became [109] angry, threw the rope at him, and ran out of the canoe house. The baby boy left his father's lap to sit on a board, and began to chew on sugar cane, part of which he offered me. One of the young men called him over, and had him puff on his cigarette. He enjoyed this tremendously, jumping up and down, and clapping his hands with glee. Another man came in, and shortly after his step-daughter came in, and sat on his lap. One of the boys now tried to pull the penis of one of the young men, but the latter rebuffed him. He attempted the same on some of the others but met the same reaction. He lay down, chewing on a twig. The little girl was singing to herself. Suddenly one of the children left the canoe house, and called to another and together they began to throw their tops in to the air. Soon the third child joined them, and they were at their games again."

28: Spiro--110-111
116, 577, 867, 626

(1949-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"As in all cultures, Ifaluk too inculcates its values in its children, and it does a very good job, since the behaviors not sanctioned by the culture all of which are found in the children, are extinguished in the adults. [sic] In order to have as complete and valid information as possible on the socialization process--both the kinds of behavior sanctioned and not sanctioned and the techniques used, both rewards and punishments. I used three checks. I employed adult informants to tell me what is done, I interviewed all the children, and I recorded my own observations. The second technique lent itself to statistical recording, which I shall produce here. The amazing thing (to me) was the identical results obtained by the three methods. All three techniques show that the non-sanctioned behaviors are: theft, disobedience, aggression (including stone throwing at people, fighting, and aggression against parents), standing and talking in the presence of adults. There is one contribution each by the adults and children that the other did not make. The adults said that children are told that they should not be lazy, but should acquire economic skill, lest they have no food. But this is a general admonition for the future, not a child's possible dereliction for which he is punished. The children added a misdemeanor for which they are punished that the adults did not mention--playing away from home, and not returning to eat.

Table 1

Total Number of Children From About 3 to 25

Total subjects: 42 Male: 25 Female: 17

Misdeed	No. of subjects	% of subjects	Male %	Female %
Fighting	21	50	56	41
Disobedience	18	43	40	47
Stone Throwing	11	26	36	12
Theft	10	23	32	11
Standing and talking in the presence of of adults (in canoe house)	10	23	40	0
Playing without returning home to eat.	7	16	16	23
Physical aggression against parents	3	17	0	17
Miscellaneous	14	33	28	41

Table one is the record of the misdeeds for which the children said they were punished. The figures speak for themselves, and no comment is necessary except to point out practically all punishable behavior fall in the category of aggression.

Some of the sex differences may be commented upon, however. It will be seen that boys do more stealing and stone throwing than the girls, for reasons difficult to answer. The greater incidence of stealing among boys may be accounted for by the fact that most stolen objects are stolen from the canoe houses, and only the boys have completely free access to canoe houses. That girls do not violate the injunction against standing and talking in the presence of men can be accounted for on the same grounds. The category in which there are no male offenders is probably a result of the greater economic responsibility thrust on the young girl, which she resents, and for which she vents her aggressions. The fact that it is the mother, rather than the father, that is the brunt of the aggression is a further indication of this fact, since it is the mother that has the girl work at home.

Before we examine the techniques of enforcing these values, I may say that they are admirably successful. Though fighting occurs frequently among the children, I have seen children above the ages of ten fighting, and this pattern extends into adult life[sic] The same holds true of the other non-sanctioned behavior listed above. Of [111] course, some children learn to inhibit these culturally defined anti-social impulses before others. But it may be stated dogmatically that no child, after the age of ten, is guilty of any of them. And, what is of even greater importance, no adult is ever guilty of commiting them."

28: Spiro--111-112
116, 153, 861, 626

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-4
Ifalik

"Social scientists have recently stressed the fact that imitation alone does not explain social and cultural learning, that such learning involves a system of rewards and punishments, the former serving to reinforce positive responses, and the latter serving to extinguish the wrong responses. On Ifaluk the punishments are quite definite and tangible, whereas the rewards are diffuse and mostly psychological in nature. In other words, rewards are seldom in the nature of 'Presents.' The simple cultural fact is that there is little possibility for the concept of 'present.' In a culture in which each family is an economic unit, almost entirely self-sufficient, each such family manufactures what every other family has so that there is no division of labor which results in exchange of goods. The child, therefore, cannot be offered something which the family does not already possess, and what it does possess are his for use anyway. Presents in the form of material goods would merely be an addition of something the child already has--some extra food, a larger basket, a new loin cloth--important, but not important enough so as to act as a dynamic agent in the learning process.

This leaves two other rewarding factors operating--praise and privilege. Privilege, too, is an unimportant factor, for again, given ~~the~~ cultural and geographical facts--the reality situation--there is little in the way of special privilege that the child can receive for good behavior. Any cultural goods the society has to offer are received automatically by the child as he matures. Such privileges as being able to listen to the radio, to see the movie, to go for an automobile ride, etc. do not exist. Others, such as being able to stay up late at night, to go with his parents to a party or to the home of a relative are not special privileges. They are his as of right. No Ifaluk parent ever bribes his child, therefore, with the promise, that if you do such-and-such, I will permit you to do so-and-so. The pattern of reward and/or privilege following a meritorious deed is therefore, absent from this culture.

The only category remaining under reward is praise, and this is employed. The child who conforms to the social expectations, or who does something particularly meritorious, or who acquires a skill, is praised not only by his parents, but by all adults. The positive dynamics in learning, therefore, is the desire to be praised, the desire for the euphoria that accompanies the feeling of being accepted, the emotional security that comes from having pleased one's elders and merited their praise.

But this, apparently is not enough. There are negative sanctions that are even more important than the positive, though, to be sure, they may be viewed as the obverse side of the motivational coin. If one desires praise and security, one avoids blame, rejection, and ridicule. Ridicule and its resultant feeling of shame is probably the strongest factor operative in the Ifaluk learning pattern. There are, as we shall soon see, six specific punishments with which children are inflicted--almost all of which elicit shame and rejection responses rather than physical pain. Positively, then, it is the knowledge of being loved for doing the right thing--emotional security--that motivated good behavior. Negatively, it is the feeling of being rejected, of not being loved--emotional insecurity--that soon eliminates bad behavior. 'If you do that', or 'if you no savvy that, you all same dog or pig' is the kind of ridicule that both shames the child and makes him aware of his implicity rejection by his parents. But this is not enough. There are six negative sanctions that are employed to punish the recalcitrant child, all of which, according to the children's confession, are distasteful, and should be avoided. These are being beaten,[112] spat upon, thrown in the lagoon, confined to the house, threatened with an *alus*, and scolded.

The child is beaten with a coconut-leaf, never with the naked hand. The actual physical pain involved, as I can testify, is slight. Being spat upon, of course, involves no physical pain at all. Being thrown into the ocean is not physically painful, though it might induce fear--fear of octopus or shark or an *alus* of the sea. There is no fear of drowning, since he is thrown in shallow water. Being scolded involves no physical pain, nor does being threatened with an *alus*, though the latter does elicit fear, for the *alus*, it will be remembered, causes illness. Confinement involves no physical pain, but is extremely frustrating. The children have complete mobility within their district, and being shut-in works a greater handicap on them than it would for an American child. It is the psychological experiencing of the punishment, as rejection, shame, frustration, that is the dynamic force behind the punishments.

The following table is a statistical tabulation of the punishments reported by the children, giving the number of children who named any one punishment. Some named many, some none.

Table II

Number of subjects: 42
Male : 25
Female : 17

Punishment	No. of subj.	% of subj.	% of M.	% of F.
Beating	35	83	88	76
Spitting	22	52	56	47
Thrown in ocean	18	43	56	23
Confinement	18	43	44	41
Threatened with *Alus*	17	40	56	18
Scolding	14	33	24	47"

"The next table expresses statistically, the severity of the punishment, as experienced by the child. That is, I asked each child which punishment he disliked the most. The number of children included in this table is not the entire child population, as are the first two. Some children said that none were experienced as severe. Others said that all were equally severe. And some I neglected to ask.

Table III

Number of subjects: 24
Male : 17
Female : 7

Punishment	No. of subjects	% of subjects	M%	F%
Beating	10	41	41	43
Confinement	5	20	23	14
Spitting	4	17	6	41
Ocean	3	12	17	0
Alus	2	8	11	0
Scolding	0	0	0	0

[113] The small number of female subjects permits no interpretive results to be drawn from the differential sexual responses."

28: Spiro--113 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 858, 184 Ifalik

"Socialization involves not only the introjection of the values of the culture, it means also learning to participate in the institutionalized activities of the culture. From the moment the child is taken from the confines of his home, there is no cultural activity he may not witness; and, indeed, he is taken to them all. Whether it be a political meeting, a religious ceremony, a dance, an economic activity, the child, from infancy on, is a witness to the proceedings, for he is carried by his parents, when an infant, and walks himself, when he can do so. In short, there is no institutionalized facet of his culture that, in principle, is barred to the child. He begins to observe adults behavior, therefore, much before he begins to participate in the activities himself. This means, that in many instances, all that is lacking for his participation is the skill or strength, not the knowledge or information. His culture, therefore, is not a strange mystery from which he is excluded. He is never made to feel, except in the case of sex, that there are adult activities that, for inexplicable reasons, he may not share. He may and does share them, but full participation must await greater maturity. And when he does begin to participate actively in his culture, it is not as a sudden transition from one discrete category to another, a precipitate change from child to adult, an abandonment of one and an entry into a new and entirely different world. His cultural, as well as biological growth, is continuous, for his cultural participation increases concommittently with his biological maturation."

28: Spiro--113 [2]
116, 858, 535, 868

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though the children are passive participants in almost all aspects of the culture, they do not become active participants until they can engage in the activity with some degree of competence. One of the first activities in which they engage is the dance. Boys and girls attend the dance rehearsals with their parents, and not only observe the dancers, but imitate them. The small tots are encouraged by the women to imitate the men dancers and they even actively induce them into the dance by guiding their arm and leg movement in the proper fashion. The boys, from about four or five years of age and up, participate in the dance itself, they are bedecked ornamentally as the men, and though their participation is not important for the performance, it does afford them an opportunity to engage in an adult activity. This means, of course, that it is unnecessary to teach the growing children the dance, because they first learn it by imitation and by actual participation as children, so that by the time they are ready to take their places as full-fledged members, they have mastered the technique."

28: Spiro--113-114 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 2
116, 462, 858, 562 Ifalik

"In economic life, the children have certain responsibilities, though here there is an important sexual differential. The little girls begin to assume domestic responsibilities much before the boys, so that the boys of seven or eight may be seen playing in their gangs, while the girls at that age are at home, helping their mothers with the cooking, caring for a younger sibling, collecting flowers for garlands, etc. When a girl reaches the age that she wears a grass skirt, she becomes a mother surrogate to the younger children. She carries them with her, watches over their play, washes them, feeds them, and in general supervises their activities. A boy may, if he likes, perform any of these tasks, but a girl is delegated these responsibilities. The girl assists her mother in household work, helping her to clean the house, and helping in the cooking. By the time she is seven or eight, she is making threads for skirts. She actually does not begin to make or even assist in the making of skirts until after puberty, but she does tie the strips of bark into thread.

The boys this age have no definite economic responsibility, though they may and do assume some on their own initiative. For example, when the men prepare to go [114] fishing, the young four and five year old boys will assist in minor tasks, such as gathering coconut-midribs to be used as skids for the canoes, or to fetch some article which the men wish to use. As the boys get older, they begin to act on their own initiative, particularly with regard to fishing. Boys from the seventh or eighth years may be seen going surf fishing with their fishing poles, or accompanying an older youth in lagoon fishing in canoes. The older pre-pubertal lads and young adolescents practically have a monopoly on one kind of fishing, the shore trap fishing for the small fish. There are certain seasons of the year when fish, the size of a sardine comes into the lagoon, which the natives catch in a stone trap, or in coconut traps, which they place in the water. Every morning, and some afternoons, the lads mentioned above are busy at work catching these fish. And, it is to be stressed, this is done without adult pressure or orders, but on their own initiative."

28: Spiro--114 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 858, 476, 574 Ifalik

"The children not only engage in economic activities, but they also assume adult social responsibilities. For example, if I were to enter a courtyard, the young girls offer me food, or the young boys would offer me part of the fish they had caught. But their culturally learned cooperative behavior extends to the more subtle aspects of the culture as well. One afternoon I was playing with the children, and the skies became overcast. The older girls became very concerned about me. If it should begin to rain, would I have some place to go? Perhaps I had better leave now before it begins to rain. Finally they had to go, but only after I reassured them that if it did rain I would seek shelter. These young girls were displaying a very important cultural value, concern for the welfare of the guest."

28: Spiro--114 [2]
116, 866, 858

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This assumption of adult values and behaviors carries over into the freedom granted the child, the patterns of dependency in which he is trained. Children are not forced to go to sleep at an early time, but can stay up as long as the adults. They may even sleep away from home, if they have their parent's permission. But even the young men and women may not do so without permission. If a young man or woman is not home by nightfall, the parents are very concerned. This is understandable, since in a small island, someone is bound to see them at some time, and if they do not return and no one can tell of their whereabouts, chances are something has happened to them. But with permission, young and old children, alike, may sleep away from home."

28: Spiro--114 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 866 Ifalik

"Children, as we have seen, play alone in the water without adult supervision, and no alarm is felt."

"As the children grow older, the sexes begin to separate. The boys form all-boy gangs, ranging in age from boys ten or eleven years old, through the very young married men. These gangs, completely informal and uninstitutionalized, are definitely local groups. On the island of Felarik, for example, there are two such gangs, one in Rauau, and one in Felarik. The younger members are part of the group, but occupy an inferior status, obeying the older ones. Each gang has a canoe-house in which it spends its time, doing nothing in particular, but sitting around, talking, playing checkers or cards and making rope. At night they assemble in the canoe houses or along the beach, where they remain until it gets dark, returning home or going to meet their lovers. In the past the boys and the young men of the district used to sleep together in the men's club-houses, but no longer do so, because of the fear of the alus, as we have already indicated. However, the young men in the Rauau gang do sleep together, at least during the trade wind season in one of the canoe houses. These young men are together constantly."

28: Spiro--114-115 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 883, 462, 226, 184 Ifalik

"The young men are accepted members of the society, doing any activity which their experience permits them to do. All toddy gathering is the job of the young man of the household. Like the men, they make rope. They participate in all communal fishing, and often fish on their own intitiative, particularly fishing in the lagoon. [115] In all construction work the young men are most conspicuous, for though they do not plan or direct the activity, they do most of the heavy work. If a roof needs to be relaid, it is the young men who are on the roof, and the older men hand them the material from the ground. In the making of canoes, the young men and boys have their share of the work, though it is usually the less-skilled work. One of the older young men might make his own canoe, and though he is assisted by an older man, the responsibility is his.

The young men also take social or economic responsibility on their own initiative. If the canoes are outside the canoe-houses, and it begins to rain, they will themselves remove the canoes from the rain without being told to do so by the older men. The point that is being stressed here is that the young men feel themselves integral members of the culture, and assume responsibility for the perpetuation of the group and its culture."

28: Spiro--116 (1947-48) 1949 Woelaians
116, 827, 864, 834, 522 Ifalik

"Sexual activity of any kind is completely taboo until puberty. Should a child engage in masturbation or intercourse, his growth would be stunted and he would become ill. However, I have often seen babies masturbating, or, at least, fingering their genitals, and never once have I seen any adult suppress this activity.

In young children I have not observed actual masturbation, though I have often observed children playing with, or fingering their genitals, with no comment at all from the adults. Some of the young boys, about four or five years of age, would persist for long periods of time in handling their penis, thus maintaining a constant erection. The older boys or men would laugh at this, but not reprimand them. Except for three or four boys, the entire child population asserted that they did not know if others masturbated, and, yet, Talimera drew a picture of a masturbating boy, which elicited peals of laughter from the other boys.

Whether children engage in overt heterosexual activity is a question I cannot answer. Both adults and children profess to know of no such behavior, and I myself never observed any."

28: Spiro--116 [2]
116, 291, 864, 839

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"It is to be emphasized that the young children wear no clothes, so that the sexual differences between boys and girls is obvious to them. They do not wear clothes until they themselves feel a sense of shame in their nudity, and this, we have already pointed out, shows a sex difference. The little girls put on clothes earlier than the boys, all girls wearing grass skirts by the time they are five, whereas the boys may not wear loin-cloths till they are eight or nine. This results in sexual exhibitionism, as well as play. For example, in the midst of a number of playmates, Taurilus, three year old girl, urinated while standing, holding a large coconut midrib, which touched the ground, in her hand. The others smirked at her, and she stood with a look of enjoyment on her face, enjoying the exhibition. Lezabung, a four year old, stood in front of me, while I was sitting in a house, then bent backwards so that her genitalia were practically in my face, and began to laugh and giggle. Talemelemar would often walk around with a piece of paper or some other object on his penis, and strut about showing it to others."

28: Spiro--116 [3]
116, 864, 827, 839

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This awareness of sexual anatomical differences is revealed by other facts. Talemelmar had a loin cloth for about a week. One evening he came out nude, and Iliakong pointed at his penis, and laughed, whereupon he pointed to her vagina, and scornfully said, 'tingi'--vagina. He then went into the house, and came out wearing a loin cloth."

28: Spiro--116-117 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 864, 827, 839 Ifalik

"On another occasion Talemelmar tried everything in his power to draw attention to his penis while in the group of seven other children calling their attention to it. He played with it with his hands. He walked with his back tilted so that his penis was in the air. He tied a coconut leaf strip around it, all of which succeeded in gaining his end-attention. Iliakong was becoming more and more resentful of his centrality, and tried to gain the attention of the others, but she could not compete with him. She began to roll on the ground, followed by Talemelemar, and then they began to play tag running around a circle. Suddenly she made a grab for his penis, but he repelled her. In what was a final gesture for attention, she suddenly got down on hands and knees, her buttocks in the air, and urinated with her back to the other children, anus and genitals in full view. This illustration, shows the awareness of both boys and girls of the superiority of the boy's genital over the girl's, and the latter's necessity of doing something drastic in order to compete with him. [117]

But the children do more than point to their genitals, they often try to grab them, particularly as a punishment for some wrong committed. Almost invariably, when a child frustrates another child of the opposite sex, the latter will grab for the genitals of the other. Often, however, this is done with no attempt at punishment. This mutual grabbing of the genitals is a very common occurrence.

28: Spiro--116-117
116, 864, 827, 839

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

The genitals are often the objects of aggression, though seldom the weapon of aggression. The anus is the 'sexual' weapon of aggression among children. Often if a child is frustrated he will bend to the ground with his anus in the air, and simulate a flatulation sound with his mouth. At least once, I observed this behavior as a game. The boys and girls would lie on the ground, whereupon one would approach another, 'flatulating' in his face, and this would evoke loud laughter from them all.

Though the genitals are seldom used as weapons of aggression, their names may be so used. Talavusman was angry at Talemelemar, and shouted 'tingi' at him. Iliakong was angry at a little girl, and said that she copulated. This evoked great laughter from all the children present."

28: Spiro--117 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 123, 857, 839, 864 Ifalik

"The interest of the children in sexual differences led them to an interest in my sexual characteristics. There is one recurrent theme in my field notes, an entry that occurs almost every day--the attempt of the young children to either look up my shorts, or actually feel my penis. This behavior was characteristic of both the boys and the girls. They would lie or kneel beneath me looking up my shorts and giggling, or they would try to put their hands up my shorts. This was not just innocent children's behavior. They knew full well that this was tabooed behavior, for they would become embarrassed, and simulate other activity the moment I let them know that I knew what they were doing."

28: Spiro--117 [2]
116, 857, 839, 864

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"I saw the children play only one game which was an obviously sexual game. A little boy and girl played a game in which they bent their heads between their legs, and then walked backwards towards each other, until they bumped buttocks. They would continue this for a number of times, either bumping buttocks or rubbing them together."

28: Spiro--117 [3]
116, 535, 864, 522

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Another form of sexual activity is the children's imitation of the bwarux dance, the sexual dance which a girl performs for her lover. Usually an older person would rebuke them and force them to stop. But in the case of the very young children, the women would not only encourage them, but even instruct them in the motions, and would then go into peals of laughter."

28: Spiro--117 [4]
116, 839, 864

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The women have little compunction about discussing sexual matters in the presence of the girls, and the men none in the presence of boys. Often, the men will engage in sexual 'horseplay' with the boys. For example, a young man or grown one, for that matter, may grab at the exposed penis of the boy, the latter invariably withdrawing with a mock-serious threat. Or a man may tickle the boy's penis with a twig. Talemelemar was the constant butt of men's jokes because the shape of his penis was bit different from that of the natives. One other person, Otilivok, a young man of about 18, had the same shaped-penis, a person might tease him by saying 'just like Talemelemar', that is, his penis is like Talemelemar's."

28: Spiro--117 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 304, 152 Ifalik

The adults do not explicitely threaten their children with castration, but they do so symbolically, by grabbing their penis'. (1)"

"1. I showed the boys and men a picture of a Melanesian circumcision ceremony, and they were all deeply shocked by the idea. That the idea is anxiety laden is shown by their reverting to it much later at certain time intervals, and asking me about it."

28: Spiro--118 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 864, 291 Ifalik

"Once the children begin to wear clothes, they reveal adult attitude towards sex and body exposure. At least twice I was walking along the shore where the young girls were washing and chanced upon them wearing only a g-string, having taken off their grass skirts before entering the water. When they saw me, they became positively panicky, and dove right into the water.

Another time, a little boy snatched the grass skirt from a girl. Only the back part came off. She began to weep, backing into a tree, so that no one could observe her buttocks."

28: Spiro--118 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 593, 864 Ifalik

"Though boys and girls may have no sexual or physical contact, there is one relationship that permits of physical contact--siblings of the opposite sex. Adult siblings of the opposite sex can have no physical contact at all, but children may and do. They sit on each other's laps, lie together arm in arm, or with arms encircling each other. This occurs until about the age of ten. Usually, this behavior obtains between a girl and her younger brother."

28: Spiro--118 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 864, 857 Ifalik

"Whether children observe adult intercourse or not is a moot point, but they do observe and with great glee, the intercourse of dogs. The boys, young and old, leave everything when they are informed of dogs copulating. The girls, if they watch, do so surreptitiously. The boys usually stand behind a tree or a house, and watch them, laughing all the time. What is most amusing to the boys is the difficulty some of the dogs have in removing their penis from the bitch's vagina. The dogs would whine and yelp, and the boys would howl with glee."

28: Spiro--118-119 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-13
116, 864, 842 Ifalik

"The children's ideas concerning birth and conception are either private phantasies, or they are ignorant of them completely. Children and young people both, seem to be ignorant of sexual matters, insisting that they have never asked their parents or other adults the answers to the two questions that I asked them. Some of them were embarassed by the questions, but most of them simply confessed their ignorance, and admitted to a lack of curiosity concerning the matters.

A poll of 40 children between the ages of four to sixteen or seventeen reveals the following results.

Table 4
Theories of Conception

Theory	No. of children
Intercourse	3
Food	3
Man	3
Chiefs	2
Good *alus*	2
Woman	2
Child	1
Ignorance	24

28: Spiro--118-119 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 864, 842 Ifalik

Their phantasies are most interesting, and we shall indicate them briefly. Of the three who attributed conception to intercourse, only one mentioned the semen. One said the woman's blood creates the baby, the other said that the mother's blood and the good alus create the baby. [119]

Of the three that said that the baby is created from food, one said that the husband gives his wife food to eat, from which the baby is created, whilst the others said that it is created from her own food, not mentioning the husband.

Of the two answering, man, one said the husband cuts his wife's stomach with a knife and places the baby inside. The other said that three men make a doll from a stick, which then becomes a baby.

Of the two answering, woman, one said that all women have babies inside their bodies, but they become alive only when they marry.

Most of the children, however, simply did not know how babies were made, nor were they curious to know. They had never asked anyone. The same is true of the baby's birth. Most were ignorant of the birth of a baby. There were some who had ideas, however, which are shown in table 5.

28: Spiro--118-119
116, 864, 842

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-3
Ifalik

Table 5
Children's Birth Theories

Theory of Birth	No. of Subjects
Vagina	8
Anus	5
Stomach	3
Mouth	1
Ear	1
Navel	1
Ignorance	23"

28: Spiro--119 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 864, 881, 841 Ifalik

"Sexual activity, as we have already seen, is completely taboo for the children, and does not become licit [sic] until puberty. In the case of the boys there is no puberty ceremony symbolizing the passage from the one state to the other. The girls, however, undergo a puberty ceremony with the onset of menses."

28: Spiro--119-120 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-4
116, 841, 881, 821, 539 Ifalik

"When a girl's mother sees that her daughter's breasts are developing, she informs her to be prepared to menstruate. The fact of menstruation (taurang) is, of course, no secret to the girl. She has by that time witnessed a number of menstrual ceremonies and has observed all her life that menstrual women retire to the menstrual hut. The mother not only prepares her to expect the menstruation but informs her that it is of serious social implication for her. She points out that the girl is about to enter into adulthood and must prepare to assume adult responsibilities and to occupy an adult status. Her carefree days of play must come to an end, she is told, and she must remain in and near the house, observing her mother's activities, and learn to make skirts and become adept in the economic functions of women. Should she not take these responsibilities seriously, she is told, people will poke fun at her, and call her a 'fool fellow', which means that she will not obtain a husband. The mother cannot tell her the meaning and function of menstruation, since she does not know herself. Menstruation, like many other natural phenomena is inexplicable to the natives.

When the girl first sees flood she informs her mother, who in turn informs her husband and the members of her own family. Her husband informs the members of his family. Both families then repair to the girl's house, bringing red paint, beads, and a skirt. The father brings her a special gift of coconuts. Her entire body is smeared with paint, she is bedecked with beads, flowers, and the new skirt, and then the women sit round her, while she stands in their midst, and sing the following song. If the song is not sung, it is believed, that rain will fall in torrents. [120]

The rat climbs up on the clouds
He drinks the rain so it won't come down
He drinks No more (shouted in crescendo)
Permit not the rain to come
Today it may fall
No more
Let the rain stop when it strikes the breadfruit pits
Away with the clouds
Not a cloud in the sky
Two babies, children of Liol
They paddle out and chase the clouds (from the north)
They paddle out and chase the clouds (from the south)
The foreskin, the foreskin
Back with it, back with it
Back with the foreskin (2)

"2. [See following sheet for footnote 2.]"

28: Spiro--119-120 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 841, 881, 821, 539 Ifalik

"2. [Footnote p. 120] The fanap, the townhall', is distinguished by, among other things, the huge carved phallus attached to the front pillar. But the pillar has other representational objects. On one side, carved in bold relief is a giant lizard. On the other side is painted a large fish. In front, under the phallus are painted small, stylized fish (the same kind as are tatooed on the natives' arms and legs), a rat, and flowers. Now, without claiming dogmatically the validity of a universal symbolism, this juxtaposition of objects, seemingly discrete and disparate, does make sense in terms of psychoanalytic symbolism. The fish, the lizard, and the rat are all phallic symbols, so that the rat and lizard phobia, revealed in the SERT can now be understood as penis phobias. Logically and culturally there is no explanation for their juxtaposition. Psychologically (in the unconscious) their juxtaposition is quite consistent, being symbols of the already obvious and consciously understood carved penis. And if a rat does symbolize the penis then the rat in this song may very well mean the same.

At the same time, the flower is a symbol of children in psychoanalytic symbolism, and again, from this point of view, it's presence here is not bizarre at all, but quite consistent. It represents the greatly desired product of the penis, children. This is given additional credence by the fact that in many songs a mother refers to her child as the flower of her ear. The ear is extremely interesting in view of the widely spread belief in conception through the ear, as in the case of Mary having conceived Jesus by being impregnated by the Holy Ghost through the ear."

28: Spiro--119-120 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-4
116, 841, 881, 821, 539 Ifalik

This song is repeated a number of times, and while singing, the women perform a sitting dance, which involves the same lascivious movements of the arms and body that we have noted in the case of the bwaruch."

28: Spiro--120-121
116, 881, 841, 343, 784

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"At the end of this festivity [WPM: see p. 119] , the girl retires to the menstrual hut, always the one of her father's homestead. She is accompanied by the entire group of women, who parade down the village path in great merriment, singing as they walk. The girl remains in the seclusion of the menstrual hut for four days, food being brought to her by members of her family. She is allowed to leave the hut in the morning in order to perform her morning ablutions in the lagoon. When she returns to the hut, she is repainted with the red paint. No male, of course, is permitted to enter the hut. Her father goes fishing every day, and presents her with his catch. At the end of the four days, she returned to her normal routine. The skirt she has worn is removed, and she again wears the sivsiv, the grass and branch skirt.

It is to be noted that this entire ceremony is completely public. Every person in the village knows the onset of a girl's menstruation. There is neither fear nor [121] stigma attached to it, no attempt made to hide it. At the same time the public nature of the ceremony announces to all that the girl has become sexually mature and is now almost ready for marriage.

This public nature of menstruation obtains in adult life, as well. At the onset of her menstrual period the woman retires to the menstrual hut, and remains in it till its end (usually four days). She may sit outside the hut, but may not enter her own house or the house of any other person, nor may she even leave the confines of her own courtyard, except for bathing and excretory purposes. Except for her husband and sons, no male is allowed in the menstrual hut.

However, should they or a woman, have eaten fish, they are not permitted to enter for that day. This taboo applies even to babies. Talimera and I were talking to Nautrimar, who was menstruating, and her 18 month old daughter was playing near by. The baby wanted to enter the menstrual hut, and Nautrimar interrupted our conversation at least every two minutes, to admonish the daughter with a loud, 'etap,' taboo. The daughter had eaten some fish that day.

The menstrual woman, herself, may not eat fresh fish, and she remains subject to the taboo until she has gone to the taro patch on four separate occasions.

The menstrual woman may engage only in that work which may be performed in the hut. She may not eat from the food prepared for the household, but must prepare her own food, in separate utensils, and over a separate fire, the house-fire being taboo. Her hasband and children, however, may eat the food that she prepares. Sexual intercourse is completely taboo during this period. Should the taboo be violated the woman would fall ill and perhaps die.

Unlike other aspects of sexual or bodily functioning, menstruation is not a tabooed subject for conversation, so that it is spoken of freely and openly. There is no sense of

28: Spiro--120-121 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 881, 841, 343, 784 Ifalik

shame or secrecy of any kind attached to it. Every one knows, of course, when a woman is menstruating because she is in the menstrual hut. When I would ask to see a woman, for example, her husband or children would state matter-of-factly that she was menstruating, and I could find her in the menstrual hut.

At the end of her period, the woman must bathe thoroughly, after which she resumes her normal routine."

28: Spiro--121
116, 841, 827, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Despite the nonchalance with which menstruation is accepted the men are in fear of the menstrual blood. When asked the cause of the fear, they answer that some blood might fall in their food, or that some might fall on them. These are obviously transparent rationalizations for something which has deep-seated, emotional roots, of which they themselves are not consciously aware. At least one man, however, said that should menstrual blood fall on a man, his hair comes out, he receives a perpetual stomach-ache, and he becomes demented. Should a man enter the hut, all vegetation would be destroyed, and 'the chief am very angry at that man.'"

28: Spiro--121 [2]
116, 821, 841

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Again, should the [WPM: menstruating] woman not remain in seclusion, fish would not enter the lagoon, as they fear the menstrual blood. In this case too, vegetation would die, and the 'chief am very angry at that lady.' Should she walk near the southern end of the island of Felarik, where the Rangona tree grows, a typhoon would ensue."

28: Spiro--121 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 881 Ifalik

"There is no ceremony marking the puberty of the boy. The distinction between a zari-man and a tari-man is not formally designated, and is a gradual, flexible difference, rather than an abrupt one."

28: Spiro--122 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 805, 561 Ifalik

"The people, as we have seen, do not know their ages, since they do not count the passing of time. The exact knowledge of a person's age would be useless information in this culture. There are, however, five categories of age classes, which serve to classify people, but these classes are not age-grades, and the distinctions between them are not marked by abrupt discontinuities. They merge almost imperceptibly into each other, with the exception of the change from the state of zari-rauwut, girl, to that of tari-veivel, young woman, which is abrupt, being brought on by the first menstrual flow, and marked by the menstrual ceremony. These age classifications are:

Male	Female	Translation	
		M	F
ligau	sauwau	infant	infant
zari-man	tari-trauwut	boy	girl
Tari-man	Tari-veivel	young man	young woman
Mann	trauwut	man	woman
Tuvai-man	tuvai-trauwut	old man	old woman"

28: Spiro--122 [2]　　(1947-48) 1949　　Woleaians
116, 881, 839　　Ifalik

Unlike the girl's first menstruation, which is announced publically, the boy's first nocturnal emission is unannounced. He reveals it to no one lest he be shamed, for people would poke fun at him."

28: Spiro--122 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 881, 833, 513 Ifalik

"The lack of a male adolescent rite du passage renders the question of the age of permissive sexual intercourse a knotty one. Girls, as we have seen, may have intercourse after their third menstruation, and probably do. Boys, may not have intercourse after the first indication of their sexual virility. My male informant insisted that a young man of the age of Talimera, who is about 16, was not permitted to indulge in copulation. This statement was verified by my questioning of the young men in that age range. If this is true, then there is quite a sexual differential in the ages at which the sexes are permitted sexual activity.

Should a young man have intercourse with a girl before the sanctioned time, both the boy and girl are beaten by the girl's parents, and the chiefs reprimand the boy's parents for not having supervised their son's behavior carefully. The natives, however, know of no case of this kind, nor could I discover any in the course of our stay on the island. (3)"

"3. The sleeping arrangements of the household present a possible complication. The parents, as we have seen, sleep alone--or with their infant--in their mosquito nets. The single young men and young women sleep in unisexual groups, but the prepuberty children sleep in one net. It is difficult to believe that children sleeping in close proximity under one net don't engage in some type of sexual explorations. In the absence of any other evidence, however, we shall have to leave this point open, only indicating here the possibility of some sexual activity."

28: Spiro--122-123 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 833, 584 Ifalik

"After her third menstruation the girl may take a sweetheart (*gamar*). She must wait because her vagina is small prior to that time, and should she have intercourse, it might be damaged. A girl will usually refuse to have intercourse with a boy who is not her gamar. The *gamar* relationship is a formally recognized institution, so that it involves certain mutual rights and responsibilities, and might very well be [123] conceived as a kind of experimental engagement period, for marriage always follows one of the gamar relationships. The man gives his *gamar* presents of tobacco, fish, skirts, and other objects. Should he go on an overseas voyage, he will bring her a present. The girl may give the man gifts, as well, though she has little to offer him. Thus, the girl stands to gain by this relationship, whereas in a casual affair she receives nothing. Ideally, therefore, when a boy asks a girl to be his *gamar* and she agrees, she will not permit him to have intercourse with her for the first two nights they sleep together, so that she can be assured that he is sincere about wishing to make her his *gamar*, and is not looking for a casual affair. The man indicates the sincerity of his intentions by presenting her with presents. The girl will terminate the relationship, when the man ceases to provide her with gifts, for his behavior indicates that he no longer cares about her, but regards her merely as a sexual partner.

The couple in the *gamar* relationship reveal their secret to no one. Eventually, the parents may notice the absence of their son or daughter at night, and may inquire, in which case they are told. But no one else is aware of the relationship. All courtship is completely clandestine, a man giving no indication at all that a particular girl is his gamar. Unmarried youth usually ignore each other should they meet on a public path, and the same pattern characterizes the behavior of the gamars, so that unless one actually saw the couple in the act of lovemaking, one would never guess who a boy's or girl's gamar is. Should either gamar reveal the identity of his gamar, the other would terminate the relationship. (4)

The boy visits his gamar only at night, after the adults are sleeping. Should the night be dark, he will crawl into the girl's mosquito netting, and remain with her until daybreak, when he returns to his home. If her house is overcrowded they retire to the bush, where they may sleep in a lean-to, or spread mats on the ground."

"4. The very word, gamar, is taboo in conversation in mixed company. From the attitude of the informants, I had the feeling that it is almost always the man who violates the trust, not the woman."

28: Spiro--123
116, 832, 535

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Sexual behavior of sweethearts and of married couples is the same. Often, both man and woman will bathe and annoint themselves with coconut oil, use perfume, and generally beautify themselves. As a prelude to love making, the woman may perform a bwarux, for her sweetheart or husband. The bwarux is a combined love song and dance, the lyrics of the song being composed by women only."

28: Spiro--123-125 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 75
116, 539, 833 Ifalik

"Bwarux-Love Songs--a selection

The following are two love songs, taken from the collection of Dr. Burrows. The *bwarux* is the largest single category of songs and it is interesting to note--and I chose these for the purpose--the candid language that the woman uses--in glaring contrast to the puritanical taboo on any reference to sex in mixed company. Many of these songs are well known, and are sung by the women when men aren't around and by the men and young men when women aren't around. [124]

Love and Parting

Flower of the sevang tree,
Ango that blooms in the taro swamp.

My sweetheart comes to me,
Stays close to me.
Our feelings are the same
I understand what he says.
He told me 'I'll never leave you.'
I asked 'Truly? ', and he said, 'I would lie to you.'
He is like a vein in my body;

28: Spiro--123-125 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 539, 833 Ifalik

Grips me like breadfruit roots under ground.
He loves me too much to leave me.
Wherever he goes the thought of me is with him.
My love is meat and drink to him.
I am like the garland on his head
Like the feathers of the tropic bird
That flies without alighting.
His head is adorned with its plumes,
He makes a fine showing at the canoe house,
Or as he goes into the meeting house Atelu.
He cannot bear to stay long away from me;
He comes around by a back way,
Comes through the woods to find me
At my house in Felarik.
He rejoices at the sight of me,
Takes me in his arms.
We go into the woods together,
Find a pleasant clearing;

28: Spiro--123-125 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 539, 833 Ifalik

There we lie down side by side,
Where the gavwu grows low about us.
I take off my skirt, spread my legs,
Show him my genitals.
He admires my thighs,
Caresses me (thighs or vagina) with his hand,
I adore his caresses.
We prepare a bed and lie down
Under the coconut leaves,
Out in the woods where nobody comes.
We lie face to face, or from behind
He clasps me tight.
If he leave me I will be in despair.
We go to the little islet
Called Arelau (formerly in the channel between Falalap and Felarik. Washed away in
Not too close to shore, a typhoon)
Separated from the main islands,
Where not every body can come.
In the midst of our joy comes a feeling of pain.
I tell him, 'You are like my little boy.'

28: Spiro--123-125 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-4
116, 539, 833 Ifalik

People say, 'They are always together.'
He tells me he is going away,
Going to sail to a far land,
Going to take a canoe and go.
The canoe hoists her sails in the bay by our islet,
He gets aboard. [125]
Though he is far away I will not forget.
He has left his perfume behind;
Left it on my skirt,
Left it on my body;
For a long time it stays.
He has gone far away
To the island of Lamotrk.
As he lies down to sleep
In the canoe house there
He dreams of his sweetheart,
Dreams I am sleeping beside him,
That he is holding me like a child,

28: Spiro--123-125 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-5
116, 539, 833 Ifalik

That we are in the woods together,
In our favorite clearing.
Always he holds me tight.

He asks me, 'What do the people say?'
I tell him 'A man from Rauau
'Told me not to come to you.
'But I will not leave you,
I pay no attention to what they say.'

Flower in my ear,
Fragnant ango flower,
It is well."

Note: The songs emphasize much gossiping about the love affairs.

28: Spiro--125
116, 833

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Sexual foreplay may include the kiss (tiluoal), the 'French' kiss (enguloa), kissing of the breast and nipple (etut), cunnilinguis (erangitingial, and felatio (erangai).

Lovers may employ culturally patterned words of endearment to express their love for each other. The generic term, Igatrux, (I like you, or love you) is employed to express any feeling of love or fondness existing between any two people, including sweethearts. The same is true of the superlative, Igatruxamesau, (I love you to death). There are at least two terms, however, that only lovers employ--Gamararangi (I love you very much), and Atimazei (You are my liver).

Intercourse is effected in three ways--with the woman lying on the ground, and the man squatting between her legs; the man lying on the ground, and the woman on top of him; or the man entering from the rear. Orgasm (zapash) is recognized in both men and women, though it was impossible to obtain information on the relative intensity of desire in men and women. The male informants did agree that there was a differential quantitative difference in the number of outlets males and females may enjoy. Men tire after two acts of intercourse, they maintained, but women do not tire. (5)"

"5. The men may merely be ignorant of the fact that women can have intercourse without desiring it."

28: Spiro--125 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 827, 152 Ifalik

"In either case it is agreed that the sex drive is very important, though not as important as the food drive, since the frustration of the latter results in death. Perhaps the intensity of their sex drive may be gaged by the statement of my informants that if middle aged married couples had intercourse every night, they would die."

28: Spiro--125-127 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 838 Ifalik

"My informants knew of no cases of homosexuality or sexual perversions. (5) [127] [WPM: poem on p. 126 omitted here] Nor did I observe any. An interesting practice, however, that related to this problem is the very common practice of young men in their teens walking hand in hand. The young men are very affectionate with each other generally. They lie next to each other in the canoe houses, singing bwarux. They may stand together, their arms encircling the others waist. And almost universal is their practice of walking down the path, hand in hand. The fact that neither adult men or small children practice this habit leads one to assume that the homosexual component in these young men is quite high. Their libidinous drives are high, unlike the young children, but it finds no heterosexual outlet, unlike the men, so that it finds some outlet in these mild homosexual manifestations."

"5. Auelimar, an elderly man, said that there were some people that did not 'like' sex, whereupon the other men laughed at him, and called him 'tuvai.' (old man)."

28: Spiro--126 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 -J
116, 539, 833 Ifalik

"Bwarux-2
Fierce Lover

Here I stand in the woods of Ievang
In my favorite shady grove,
Happily waiting for my lover.
He sets out and walks the trails
Until he comes to my side.
(I tell people it is a hilly place to deceive them).

As he walks the sun shines on his face paint,
The perspiration gleams;
How handsome he is!
Fragrant with flowers on head and neck,
With rich perfume from Truk
In his hair
His great mane of long hair.

Seeing me, he cuts coconut leaves,

28: Spiro--126
116, 539, 833

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Spreads them on the ground
And says, 'Let's sit down here.'

He reaches for my skirt
To take it off;
Snatches it off with his hands.
'All right, whatever you like.'
He sees beneath my skirt and cries out with delight:
'I want to eat you like a beetle nut!'
He sees my tattooing
And says stand up;
I want to drink you like toddy.
He looks me all over,
Always wanting to drink me like toddy.
But I begin to fear
That someone might see us
And go and tell.

(Ted [Burrow's] note: Women were tatooed mainly on
the inner side of the thighs, and about the genitals.)

We look into each other's eyes
He is a man of Ievang.

28: Spiro--126 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 539, 833 Ifalik

'You are like that fierce fish
That strikes at breadfruit leaf.
'When you see me you seize me.
'Now that we are together, let's stay here!
'Tomorrow you can't come; it is too far.'
Still he wants me, his toddy.
It is like tobacco, too scarce to pass around,
But treasured in a little basket.
So I keep the treasure of my body
In a little basket for him."

28: Spiro--127
116, 839

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The only contact with animals I observed, and the natives do not interpret it sexually, is the suckling of infant pigs. The few times I observed this, the woman in question removed the pig from her breast, as if she was ashamed to be seen by me. On Yap, on the other hand, where this is a common practice, there was no shame at all."

28: Spiro--127 [2]
116, 827, 832

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Standards of sexual beauty, of course, are culturally variable, but it was difficult to obtain the Ifaluk conception of sexual beauty, since they insisted on the great variability within the culture itself. Tom referred often to the small breasts of a woman in the TAT, which he admired greatly, and many men commented favorably on the 'big' (that is, thick) legs of another woman in the TAT. But all questioning this score produced only animated discussion and much laughter. Sarfert, in his discussion of sex says that the women remove their pubic hair because the men consider it unaesthetic. Inquiry did not bear out this contention. It is true that many women do remove their pubic hair, but for different reasons. Long pubic hair may injure the man's penis during intercourse. Second, the women bathe in the lagoon while wearing their skirts. The water on the pubic hairs may not dry when they emerge, and will thus be noticeable, much to their embarassment."

28: Spiro--127 [3]
116, 837, 548

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"As one might expect in a culture the size of Ifaluk, there is no prostitution. However, a woman might sell her favors. A man meeting a woman in the bush might offer her a present if she would have intercourse with him."

28: Spiro--127 [4]   (1947-48) 1949   Woleaians
116, 203, 839, 684   Ifalik

"The concept of rape (garo) is known to the people, but as far as I know, it has never occured on Ifaluk. My informants did know of one case of rape that occured on Satawal, an atoll in the Central Carolines. (6) Eight men working on a canoe in the bush fell upon a lone woman and all had intercourse with her.

A variation of rape, ganou, is found on Ifaluk. A man will enter a house at night, and copulate with a woman while she is sleeping. Should she awake and object to his behavior she awakens the household. (7) Again, the incidence is negligible."

"6. This incident is of interest for it indicates that the people do not live a completely insular life, but that news and gossip from the other islands is diffused throughout the area.

7. It is of interest to note that the verbal taboo on sexual terms obtains even in this situation. The women does not say that a man is copulating with her, but states that a man is in the house."

28: Spiro--127-128
116, 839, 864, 522

(1947-48) 1949

·Woleaians
Ifalik

"Masturbation, azirzir, we have seen, is taboo for children. My informants, however, maintained that children violate the taboo. They also maintained that the [128] children indulge in mutual masturbation and that the women also engage in mutual cunnilinguis. The men do neither. (The informants were men.) However, they did recall two cases of male masturbation. A man in Farulep, one of the Central Caroline islands, was discovered by two women masturbating in a tree. They began to tease him, and he attempted to distract their attention by shouting that a ship was coming, and that he had climbed the tree to observe the ship. (8) The same man was mastrubating in a tree, and the branch on which he was sitting broke, so that he fell to the ground. A man on Rauas in Ifaluk had bored a small hole in the wall of his house, which he used as a masturbatory device, until one day he was observed by some women."

"8. This, and the following stories told with great laughter by the informants."

28: Spiro--128
116, 521, 533, 831, 562

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Sex is a favorite topic of conversation, among the men and women both, though it is completely taboo in mixed company. The men, young and old, sitting about in the canoe houses in the evening sing bwarux, though only the women are supposed to sing them. And there is the almost universally-found ribbing and kidding of others with respect to sex. My informants were very happy to talk to me about sexual relations, and were in constant good humor, kidding and ribbing each other and me throughout. As Aluelimar, the elderly informant put it: 'No can leave talk about women.'"

28: Spiro--128 [2]
116, 831, 533, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The young men were eager to learn of sexual practices in America, as were the adult informants. Women, when alone, are constantly singing bwarux. When the men make the statuettes which they sell to the ships, there is usually some kidding about the length of the penis. In one case Taualimen was carving a man with a long penis, and was about it every day. Otilivok one day, while this kidding was going on, went to a corner, and carved very diligently for a long time, finally coming back with a carved vagina, which he gave to Taualimen."

28: Spiro--128 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 291, 831, 827, 177 Ifalik

"Though the people are neither modest in dress nor in sexual practice, in terms of western standards, that is, they are actually quite puritanical. Any sexual reference or term, either anatomical or physiological, is completely taboo in mixed company. As we have seen, a man does not even permit another man to see his genitals. And anyone would be horrified if a member of the opposite sex had seen him nude. (9)"

"9. The Japanese shocked the sensibilities of the Ifaluk by bathing in the nude. Women would run away if they saw the Japanese bathing, as they were shocked by their boldness."

28: Spiro--128 [4]
116, 843, 827, 833

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This is not true of pregnancy, however, which is not concealed, and which is not a tabooed topic for conversation; nor is it true of the exposure or reference to the female breast. (10)"

"10. Despite the exposure of the breast, it definitely has an erotic value, and is fondled and kissed in sexual foreplay. Furthermore, it is an object of sexual attraction, many men commenting, for example, on the attractive breasts of a woman in the TAT."

28: Spiro--129 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 593, 115 Ifalik

"This puritanism goes great lengths. A man would never dream of kissing his wife goodbye, not because kissing does not constitute a form of displaying of affection, but because of the absolute shame of being seen engaging in a sexual activity. No man would even hold the hand of his wife in public for the same reason. Our adolescent pattern of hand-holding would shock any Ifalukian. Any overt form of sexual activity or display of fondness between the sexes is inhibited. The candid reference to the sexual anatomy and physiology in the love songs stands in glaring contrast to their public attitude of shame. This means that one never sees overt affection displayed between spouses. One might interpret this as lack of affection, but this would be an untenable interpretation. In the intimacy of their homes, affection is shown, and patently felt. A wife will serve her husband, with no expressed feeling of gratitude on his part in public. But in private this pattern is different. One afternoon, for example, Tom and I were administering a battery of tests, and his wife came up bringing us coconuts to drink. Tom was very pleased at this gesture, his face beamed with pleasure, and he exclaimed: 'My wife, my wife! Very good that my wife.' On another occasion, I was giving his wife one of the tests, and she did not respond very well. Tom became quite angry at her, so that her feelings were hurt. He was immediately sorry for his treatment of her, smiled at her, and all was forgiven."

28: Spiro--129 [2]
116, 831, 514, 827

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This same puritanical attitude is displayed with reference to excretory behavior. All people perform their ablutions in the lagoon so that they are in public view. But they would be terribly ashamed if a person, even of their own sex were to see them urinating or defecating on land. If a man urinates, and other men are present, he will bend down on his haunches, so that his penis is concealed. A person in a group who must evacuate his bowels or bladder will not tell where he is going, when he leaves. He says, 'I am going over there.' Flatulation is in the same category. Should a person flatulate in public, people laugh at him, and he is greatly ashamed."

28: Spiro--129 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 192 Ifalik

"Unlike our own culture, sexual and excretory words are not employed as obscenities, with one exception. There are only two 'swear words' on Ifaluk: Go copulate with your mother (or father). And ganizin, literally, 'I (give food) to my mother'. This is obscene, say the natives, because you invoke the name of your mother in vain, which is bad. But I am inclined to interpret the phrase in psychoanalytic symbolism. The fact that the only tabooed words are sexual and excretory, and the fact that the other 'swear word' is a commission of incest, I think it not unlikely that the frequently found equation of eating with sexual intercourse applies here, and the seemingly innocuous phrase (unconsciously) means intercourse.

The former, go copulate with your mother (father)' is used by the children when taunting one another. The latter, ganizin, is used often, and is equivalent to our dammit.' That is, if one hits his fingers with a hammer, or a fish escapes, or a flint will not give a spark, the person will often express his anger or frustration, by muttering, ganizin. In other words, it is a means of 'letting off steam.'"

28: Spiro--129-130
116, 192, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"All obscene words are called 'kapat engau', literally, 'bad talk.' It is of interest to note that though there are many forms of bad talk, culturally defined, such as lying, gossiping, etc., it is only obscene conversation that is literally designated as 'bad talk.' The young men and boys have devised a special sexual vocabulary which enables them to talk about sex, without betraying that fact to others. They employ one term, chagiach, which, as far as I could determine, was a universal generic term referring to any aspect of sexual anatomy or physiology, the meaning of which depends upon the context. Aside from this generic term, there [130] are two specific terms. The native words for penis and vagina (gai and tingi, respectively) which are completely taboo, are replaced by the terms, tamoneliman, and tamolelitrauwut, in which the root tamon means 'chief,' and the roots man and trauwut mean man and woman, respectively.

Now neither of the above substitutions corresponds to our distinctions between polite and obscene forms of words. The distinction does not exist here, all sexual terms being taboo. On the other hand, there is one term which does have a socially acceptible polite term, as well as one which is taboo. Gamar, the word for lover, is tabooed. However, if the occasion calls for the mention of the concept, a circumlocution is used--tralia-mukakat. (11)"

"11. My knowledge of the language is inadequate to break this down into its component roots. The boys insisted that it was merely a nonsense term. On the other hand, tral means water, and kapat means to speak."

28: Spiro--130 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 514 Ifalik

"This same verbal taboo applies as well to excretory references. No mention may be made of them in mixed company, not even one's own wife. For example, Tom's brother-in-law was ill, and I brought him some medicine. I wanted to know whether his bowel movement was regular, and asked Tom to ask him. Tom tried but he stuttered and blurted out nothing. Finally, he asked his wife, who was sitting with us, to leave the room. When she left, he could then address my question to his brother-in-law."

28: Spiro--130 [2] (1947[illegible]8) 1949 Woleaians
116, 522, 831, 562 Ifalik

"This taboo on overt sexual verbal or physical behavior does not apply in the case of adults and children. During an interview with Lesaligesia, a 12 year old girl, Tom fondled her breasts throughout the interview. She sat through it impassively. He then took from his basket a tube of lipstick I had given him, and pushing the lipstick itself through the tube, he told her that she should show it to the women, and that they would laugh because it resembles a penis. The next day, while we were interviewing her sister, she came into the canoe house. Tom told her that she should go to the lagoon to bathe so that she would have her first menstrual flow, and then she could get married. Lesaligesia became sulky at this jibe, while Tom and her sister went into peals of laughter, thinking this very funny.

Another day we were interviewing Tavelegia, a young girl quite mature, but who had not yet menstruated. Tom asked her if she wanted a husband, and she said, no. He then said that she should marry a dog. Later, while we were still talking, he told her to put her finger up his anus. And still later, when she said she would have to leave to 'make a skirt,' he said to her that she should 'make my faeces.'"

28: Spiro--130 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 533, 522 Ifalik

"Sexual verbal taboos between different age groups within the sex do not exist at all. For example, women will sing bwarux, with their candid sexual references, in the presence of boys of any age. There is no age 'discontinuity' at all. After having administered my TAT's I showed pictures of other primitives to a group of males, including all age groups, as well as the chiefs, and told them stories about them, involving ribald sexual humor, to test their reactions. All ages thought them very funny, laughing uproariously, none attempting to conceal their lively interest in the matter because of the presence of persons much older or younger than themselves."

28: Spiro-131 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 226, 834, 768 Ifalik

"Though sexual mores are liberal, there are periods in which any sexual activity is taboo. Should a school of fish enter the lagoon during the day, and the men spread their nets in the passage, leaving them over night, no sexual activity is permitted that night. Should a man violate the taboo, his spear, directed at the fish, would enter his own body. During the season of night, torch-light fishing, which lasts for about three months, the men sleep in the canoe houses, and may have no social or sexual intercourse with the women. The men bring fish and toddy to their families, but leave them at the door of the house, and may not enter. The taboo extends for one month after the end of the period making a total of four months. Should a person violate the taboo, a shark or sword-fish will kill him, or an alus of the sea will make him ill. At the death of a spouse there is a one month taboo on intercourse (and on remarriage)."

28: Spiro- 131 [2]
116, 789, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Despite the importance of sex, there are no supernatural techniques of obtaining love or sexual favors, no love magic. The natives said that love magic is found on Truk, but no one had brought it from Truk, since all the people would fear it."

28: Spiro--131 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 584, 848, 837 Ifalik

"Unmarried lovers either marry after an indeterminate period, or else terminate their affair. Should the girl become pregnant, they will usually marry at the onset of her pregnancy. There is no concept of illegitimacy on Ifaluk, children being eminently desired, whether obtained in marriage or out of it. However, the problem seldom arises since the girl's lover will almost inevitably marry her. (12)"

"12. The problem is complicated, however, if the father of the child is already married. It is seldom that he would leave his wife and family to marry his lover, so that the child is called Sevuliwaliwuliwud, literally, 'from the root of a tree'. That is, the child has no social father, but has come from the tree. Unfortunately, I could get no statistics on its incidence."

28: Spiro--131-132 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 -2
116, 581, 591 Ifalik

"In choosing a spouse, both the man and woman (ideally) weigh the economic skills of the future mate. A man who is a poor fisherman or otherwise economically unskilled, a woman who can not cook well or is not adept at making skirts, would be considered a very poor marriage prospect. There is at least one woman in Ifaluk who has never been married because the natives insist she is a 'fool fellow', that is, domestically unskilled, and there have been two cases of divorce for the same reason.

The two desirable features that a person looks for, therefore, is economic skill and sexual attractiveness. But it seems that both desiderata are fairly universally found among all the people for an ecological study of the island of Felarik reveals an interesting phenomenon: Of the sixty-six marriages in the genealogies (the total number of marriages on this island), fifty-five, or more than eighty-three percent were consumated between individuals living in the island. Only eleven individuals married a person from the island of Falalap. And of the fifty-five, sixty-three percent of the total chose mates from within their own districts. This high percentage of local endogamy means that a high percentage of the people marry the girl who lives next door. This has two important implications: It means that all the people of one district are close relatives, either through birth or marriage, partly explains the degree of intimacy, and cooperation that exists between them. And it also means that your spouse may have been your childhood playmate, with whom you have grown up, or a young girl whom you had seen grow from

28: Spiro--131-132 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 581, 591 Ifalik

infancy, whose every character and personality trait you know well, so that you enter into marriage with an intimate knowledge of your mate.

I said above that your spouse is a woman whom you observed grow from infancy, for study reveals that the ages of the mates are often widely separated. When we first arrived in the island, I was struck by the great discrepancy between the number of [132] young men as contrasted to young women.

There were a considerable number of single men, but practically no single women their age, and when I asked Talimera to bring me some tari-veivel to draw for me, he replied that there were none. It was not until many months had passed that I realized my error. I had incorrectly guessed at the ages of the young married women. When I got to know the people, and had obtained information on relative chronological ages, I discovered that the young women, who corresponded in age to the young single men, were all married. Most of the young women marry in early adolescence, whereas the boys do not marry until their early twenties. This means that the girls marry older, often men one generation removed from them. (13)"

"13. This also indicates the precocious maturation of the girl, as compared to the boy. Girls that I had thought were in their early twenties, I later found out to be younger sisters of the young men that I spent my time with. This early maturation continues into old age. Women age much more rapidly than men. Middle aged women look like old women, as compared to their husbands who maintain a very youthful appearance."

28: Spiro--132
116, 585

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If possible, the men claimed that they prefer to marry a virgin, but virginity is obviously very rare, so that what is preferred is a woman who has not had too many affairs. The reason for this preference is that a man would be shamed by the taunts of her former lovers, who would point out that he had married a woman with whom all of them had had sexual relations."

28: Spiro--132 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 582, 835, 198 Ifalik

"In choosing a spouse, of course, one must not violate the incest taboos, (was) which includes marriage within the patrilineal lineage, as well as the matrilineal clan. The tabooed individuals are parents and siblings, real and classificatory, as well as clan members. His classificatory sisters would include his mother's brothers' daughters, his father's sisters' daughters, and his father's brother's daughters, as well as his mother's sisters' daughters. Incest, my informants insist, does not occur. They remembered one case of incest in the past, and the man was seized by the people, and thrown into the ocean to drown. The reasons for incest being 'very, very bad' are unknown. Should a man commit incest, 'all people and chief say,' very bad man"', because 'all people afraid of it.'

The incest taboo extends to behavior that might be interpreted symbolically as incest. I had the habit of whistling a tune as I walked through the village, and at times noticed an implicit disapproval on the part of some people. One day I asked if the people did not whistle, and it was explained that whistling was taboo in the presence of women, because a man calls his lover at night by whistling for her. Thus whistling has a sexual conotation, and should a man whistle publically his sister might hear it, and might interpret it as a sexual advance. Furthermore, since the whistle has this sexual connotation, and since all sexual references are prohibited, whistling is tabooed in the presence of any women."

28: Spiro--132-133
116, 583, 437, 591

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"When a couple decides to marry, each party tells his own parents of his decision. The parents may object, but the young people may choose to ignore their objections. The only consequence of their objection, therefore, is that the couple will not live in the girl's parental home, should her parents object. The incidence of parental objection, however, is negligible. On a day decided in advance, there is an exchange of gifts between the two families. The girl's mother brings food, usually cooked taro and breadfruit to the boy's family, after which the boy's family offers coconuts to the girl's family. The boy himself brings gifts of rope toddy and fish to the parents of the girl. The food brought to the house of the boy is distributed to members of his clan. (14) [133] However, there is no public ceremony or gathering, or religious rite, the exchange of food constituting the consummation of the marriage. Should either family feel that it had given less food than the other, it will add to its gift the following day. The first night of their marriage the couple sleeps in the house of the boy's parents. They may remain longer, if they choose,

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"14. In the event that the girl is widowed, the boy's family bring gifts of food and skirts to the family of her deceased husband."

28: Spiro--132-133 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 583, 437, 591 Ifalik

but after some lapse of time, they move to the home of the girl's parents, where they take up residence, though matrilicality is not the invariable rule.

Of sixty-six marriages studies in the genealogies in the island of Felarik (which includes the two districts of Rauau and Felarik), forty-two, or sixty-three percent, were matrilocal. The remaining twenty-four were patrilocal, autolocal, or aevam local.

The newly-weds resume their normal routine after marriage, there being no analogue to the western honeymoon. (15)"

"15. The informants were intrigued by the description of the American honeymoon, and indicated their approval by profuse 'erats' (very good), 'one week, only chow, only copulate.)"

28: Spiro--133 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 -2
116, 583 Ifalik

"There are two other ways of obtaining a wife, both known as the gavato. One is child betrothal. A young man may fall in love with a young girl, who has not yet reached puberty, and wish to marry her. Being ashamed to speak to her parents of the matter, he commissions his parents to make the overtures. His mother informs the girl's mother of her son's desire, and the latter responds inthe culturally patterned etiquette, that her daughter is 'a fool fellow, no savvy nothing.' The girl's mother replies that this should be no obstacle because she will take the girl into her household and train her in the domestic arts. Should the girl's parents agree, she goes to live in the boy's house, and is treated as an aevam in the house. She may refuse to accept this arrangement, in which case she is not compelled to. Should she agree, the two households become closely knit, and periodically exchange food until she has had her third menstruation, after which she and the boy are considered married. The girl may consent to the arrangement, but after attaining puberty, she may change her mind. Her parents exert tremendous influence on her, however, by claiming that they would be shamed if she did not comply, 'Every day and every year that boy give you and me chow, you no ashamed? I ashamed. Suppose you no take for husband, I go away.' This argument usually suffices to convince her.

The other method of obtaining a spouse, called gavato as well, is infant betrothal.

28: Spiro--133
116, 583

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Should two women give birth to babies in the Birth Hut at the same time, they may agree (if the babies are of opposite sex) that their children, when grown, should marry each other. The children, as soon as they can talk, are informed of their mothers' compact. However, when they reach their seniority they may demur from the parental agreement.

The incidence of either of the gavato marriages is slight."

28: Spiro--133 [2]
116, 622, 595

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Marriage is monogamous, though the informants said that in the past a chief could have two wives. But today not even the chiefs practice polygymy. 'We don't do that in this place.'"

28: Spiro--133-134 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 581, 462, 831 Ifalik

"When I asked my informants why people marry, I provoked great laughter. The men looked at me with amazement, as if I were incredibly naive, and then Auelimar, [134] the oldest of the men raised his hands towards me, and forming a circle with the forefinger and thumb of his left hand, thrust the forefinger of his left hand into it[sic]--an obvious symbol of intercourse. When the laughter had died away, I pointed out that men and women could have sexual relations without marriage, so there must be other reasons as well for marrying. They replied that if a person did not marry, people would talk about him, implying that the unmarried state is not quite normal. And all would ask him, 'Who will give you chow?' This is a recurrent theme, in the case of both males and females--a spouse is necessary in order to obtain food. In a culture which has a strict sexual division of labor with respect to the production and preparing of food, this factor does assume importance. Yet there seems little doubt that sex is the preeminent reason for marriage, other factors being equal. This is indicated further by the response of my informants to the question as to whether the institution of marriage to inanimate objects is practiced.' Suppose she no alive, what he copulate?', was the immediate response, rather than, 'suppose she no alive who cook for him?'"

28: Spiro--134-135 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-174
116, 586, 837 Ifalik

"Divorce, zamotalax though its incidence is small, there being only eleven cases of 66 marriages studied in the geneologies, is very easy. The dissatisfied partner merely informs his spouse of his decision. There is no ceremony or legal proceedure involved, nor any property settlement. The children, of course, remain with the mother. Though divorce is easy, the culture recognizes certain basic causes. [1]. The spouse does not provide his/her parents-in-law with food. [2]. One spouse has a lover, and refuses to leave him/her. [3]. Either spouse is economically unskilled. The man is a poor provider. The woman is a poor cook, so that when visitors arrive from other islands, her husband does not offer them food, and is consequently ashamed. [4]. One of the spouses is sexually attracted to another person. If he is still young, his parents will exert pressure on him not to abandon his spouse. 'No. You chow fine face, fine body? Your wife look out for me. She (his new love) look out?' An actual analysis of the eleven cases of divorce reveals that four were instituted by women, eight by men, and in two of the three cases they were motivated by the husband's becoming psychotic, (malebush). Thus the man almost always divorces the woman. The actual reasons given for the divorces were as follows:

Desire for different spouse: four cases (2 men, 2 women)
Infidelity: three cases
Mental illness: two cases

28: Spiro--134-135 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 586, 837 Ifalik

Domestic ineptitude: one case (a woman)
Unknown: one case

Divorced couples are very cordial to each other, as are old and new mates of the same man and woman. They fish together, work together, care for each other's children, even in cases in which a man has divorced his wife for infidelity, the relationship between him and the man who seduced his wife, and who married her after her divorce, are warm and friendly. Both men are equally concerned about the children the woman bore the first husband, both take care of them and raise them.

From the above discussion it is apparent that marital infidelity does occur. As a matter of fact, its incidence is quite high. My informants insisted that almost every person--man and woman--has a lover. Now they may have been wrong, since all sexual activity is concealed, as we have seen, and they may have been guilty of a personal projection.

Now, whether they do or do not have lovers is, of course, important, but even if they do not, the statement of the informants is of great psychological importance, since it shows that they *think* it is true. That infidelity does occur, and that the people are disturbed by it, and become unhappy is indicated by a number of songs [135] collected by Dr. Burrows, in which a woman laments the infidelity of her husband. The motivations of infidelity are not too clear. Tom, for example, was married to a woman, much younger than himself, and very attractive. He was much in love with her, praised her highly, and was generally very affectionate towards her. One evening I met him walking from his home, his hair combed, and his body perfumed. When I asked him where he was going, he became sheepish, and would not say. But he asked me not to walk past his own home, lest I see his wife. I asked why he did not wish me to see her, and he finally confessed that he was on his way to a liaison with a woman, and had told his wife that he was going out to see me. (16)

There seems little doubt then that married people do have affairs. Its incidence, however, is in doubt, but it does seem to be taken for granted by the people that everyone, including one's own spouse, is having an affair with another person. And this knowledge

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"16. Later that evening, he came to our tent, very disappointed. The woman had not appeared. He was indignant, because she had lied to him. She had promised him that she would meet him, but did not. He had waited in the bush for her, and finally left, because it was getting dark, and he was afraid of the alus."

28: Spiro--134-135 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-4
116, 586, 837 Ifalik

creates no apparent jealousy or anxiety. If the person is indiscreet, however, and his affair becomes known, his spouse will then insist that he terminate the affair, not because of jealousy, but because of shame. Infidelity constitutes an illicit aspersion on his sexual ability and attractiveness, and it is a blow to his ego that others should know. But the theoretical knowledge of infidelity is not disturbing, the philosophy being, apparently, that what you don't know won't hurt you."

28: Spiro--135
116, 562

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Consciously, there seems to be no 'battle of the sexes.' The men told me that women are more important than men ('more high'), because they 'give people', that is, they give birth to children. 'No have woman, no have people. (Therefore), man take talk for woman.' (that is a man will obey the woman.) But this statement seemed to contradict some of the overt practices. For example, a woman who passes a group of men, lowers her head, in the same fashion that all people do when they pass the fanap. When a woman walks from one end of the village to another, she takes the back path, whereas men take the front one. When men gather to eat, women may not join them. Women are not permitted in the canoe-houses."

28: Spiro--135-136 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 562, 593, 796, 462 Ifalik

"If a husband and wife should walk through the village together, the wife always follows behind him, never preceeds him. But what was most impressive with respect to this differential treatment of the sexes was the following treatment, which I observed at each religious ceremony. The religious ceremonies are usually held on Falalap. A channel of about 30 yards separates the two islands. Ordinarily the people walk across the channel, since the water at its highest point only reaches to their chest. Now the people 'dress-up' for the ceremonies--new skirts or loin cloths, painted faces, flower garlands, feather head-dresses, etc. It is understandable that they do not wish to get wet. Consequently what amounts to a ferry service is set up. The young men paddling canoes back and forth across the channel bearing passengers. But the passengers are almost invariably men! Since time is short, and there are not too many canoes, the men ride across, but the women wade through the water, despite the fact that the men would dry off sooner than the women, since they wear only loin cloths. Their answer to this differential treatment was that the men do the hard and dangerous work, whereas women's work is light. 'Man work strong. Woman no can work, for too hard. He work on canoe and house for woman. Very hard work that man. Woman-work more down. Man work on tree, maybe he fall down. [136] He catch fish, maybe shark cut him.' This is most interesting in view of the fact that women actually work much harder and longer than

28: Spiro--135-136 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 562, 593, 796, 462 Ifalik

men. Women almost always have work to perform, whereas the men spend hours just sitting about in the canoe houses. Men's work may theoretically be more dangerous, but no one has ever fallen from a tree, and the men know of only one case in which a man was attacked by a shark. These reasons, therefore, are patent rationalizations."

"Women are 'more high' because they bear children. The day following this discussion with the informants, I was struck by the idea that the stress on the woman's role as the bearer of children might have further implications for the problem of physiological paternity. I asked them, therefore, if the reason they gave for woman's superiority is valid, since they had all told me that man has a share in the procreation of children, as well. This question made them all sit up. They were completely taken aback, and answered as a man: 'You talk true, we talk lie. Man more high. You throw away that paper for yesterday. You put in book, man more high.'

This sudden reversal was quite interesting. So the next day, I assembled a number of women to get their evaluation of relative sexual status. There was a brief pause for reflection, after which they answered that men enjoy greater status as indicated by the fact that a woman must obey her brother. Though there is no full-blown avunculate here, as we have seen, the brother's relationship to his sister and her children is an intimate one, and apparently an authoritative one, as indicated by their answer, and the women's subservience to her brother in this sense emphasized for them the male superiority.

This answer was doubly interesting because a few months later, in discussing this

28: Spiro--136 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 562, 844, 593 Ifalik

same matter with the chiefs, they said that men are 'more high,' (17) for the same reason, a man can give orders to his sister, but she cannot give orders to him."

"17. It is of interest to note the conceptualization of social status in spatial terms, which is identical with the usage in English, for example."

28: Spiro--136 a
116, 562, 611, 591, 622

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"By this time I had become intimate enough with the chiefs, to be able to point up difficulties or problems in their interpretations. I asked whether the two factors of matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence did not indicate female superiority. This, they responded triumphantly, proves the superiority of men. For if there were only women in the house, they would live miserable lives. The houses would be small and there would be no fish to eat, since canoe and house construction, as well as fishing, is man's work. Thus if there were no matrilocal residence, the women would only 'chowchow, but no chow fish.'

The fallacy in the argument is obvious, but I admitted its validity, and then pointed out that they had answered only the matrilocal, not the matrilineal objection. To this they looked quite chagrined, and finally said, 'you talk true.' They were then silent for a long time, as if they were all meditating. Finally, Wolpatau, the highest ranking chief, came forth with a new argument, which we all accepted as incontrovertible. Men are superior to women because only men are chiefs, and women cannot be chiefs (unless there are no men in the chiefly lineages)."

28: Spiro--136 a [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 562, 828, 764 Ifalik

"Both men and women recognize differential sexual reactions, (temperaments), and numerous men and women I questioned agreed completely, without exception on the following facts. A woman is more sensitive than a man, and is hurt much more readily, so that her feeling of sorrow at the loss of a relative is much greater. This accounts, they say, for her behavior at funerals, tearing her face and hair. (18)

A woman loves her children more intensely than does the man. (19) The man is more prone to anger than the woman, and his anger is more intense. His anger cannot be appeased by his wife, whereas the wife's anger can be assuaged by her husband. A man is braver than a woman, so that the latter fears such dangers as typhoons, sharks, airplanes, etc. more than the man. The woman succumbs to illness more readily than the man. She will take to her bed at small provocation, whereas the men will go about his work."

"18. This funeral behavior is culturally patterned, so that it is interesting to note the use made of a culturally expected behavior pattern being employed to indicate a factor of feminine character.

19. This shown in the songs collected by Dr. Burrows, many of which are mother's lamentation for their dead children or praise of them."

28: Spiro--137 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 888, 561, 554 Ifalik

"As far as I can determine age brings neither greater nor less prestige. It is true that the old are not as economically useful as the young but it seems that the subsistence is plentiful enough so that their relative economic inactivity is not viewed as a drag on the economy. On the other hand, their greater age is not, *ipso facto*, an indication of greater wisdom. A wise person retains his wisdom as he ages. A mediocre person is no wiser because of age. Formally, therefore, there seems to be little if any cultural evaluation placed on old age. It must be remembered, furthermore, that this is an egalitarian society, in which general statuses are about equal, and in which only specific statuses differ. This is, the status of a navigator or carpenter, or fisherman is higher than others, which are about equal. Differential status, therefore, is almost always a function of achievement in a specific activity. This being the case, the status continues into old age.

At no time did I see the slightest indication of resentment against an older person because of inability to perform certain tasks.

On the other hand, though the culture does not evaluate age in terms of any invidious distinctions, the aging person may very well experience the process of aging as more or less pleasant than youth. In speaking with the men, they said that the reactions to old age are not the same. An old man usually cannot marry a young girl, he cannot engage in many kinds of work, the Japanese would not hire him for labor, and thus he could make no money. On the other hand, the old man has prestige and respect, and young people will turn to them for advice, since they 'savvy many thing.'"

28: Spiro--137 [2]
116, 761, 775

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though old age is experience differentially, there is no dispute about death. Death is not welcomed, despite the native eschatology, which assures every one of continued life after death. Any attempt to obtain direct attitudes on death are, of course, a waste of time, since the responses would reveal only superficial, rational attitudes, rather than the deep seated, emotional feelings. The few individuals to whom I put the question, however, responded with: people are afraid to die, because they no longer remain in Ifaluk, and are consequently separated from their families."

28: Spiro--137 [3]
116, 763, 755, 533

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a person is seriously ill, his relatives, both matrilineal and patrilineal, assemble in his home--or in the home in which he happens to be (1), for public wailing. They sing many chapeng, which are the religious songs, directed to the alus. When he is close to death, they sing a bwaruch--a love song--and, interestingly enough, with the same bodily movements that are normally employed. It is also interesting that this is the only time in which a bwarux is sung in the presence of both sexes. When he is dead, they sing a Garuaru le'zari, a lament for the loss of a child."

"1. We have already seen that if a person has a prolonged illness, he is moved from his own home to the home of another person, it being believed that the changing of his domicile will aid in his recovery."

28: Spiro--137-138 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 3
116, 763 Ifalik

"This period of wailing continues [WPM: see p. 137, paragraph 4] every evening until the person either recovers or dies. The people go about their normal tasks during the day, showing no indication of sorrow, but return again at night, to participate in the rite. The wailing scene is perhaps the most impressive and weirdest experience I have ever witnessed. Throughout my stay on the island, I was impressed with the natives' lack of 'primitiveness'. These were people like any people I knew 'back home.' The only intimation I had of the stereotype of the 'savage', was this experience of wailing. From a distance, both physical and psychological, from which I now write these lines, it is [138] difficult to rescucitate the wailing scene in my imagination, so that I shall quote directly from my field notes, for August 25.

'We have just come from one of the most depressing sights I have ever seen. The " "sick man" has been mourned regularly, every night, for one week. During the day, however, there has been no indication of sorrow, the family going about its daily routine with no apparent concern. This evening Tom came to inform us that the man was very ill and the people would be wailing tonight, as he was not expected to live. In fact a new loin cloth had been prepared, in which he would be wrapped, should he die. After eating our dinner, we hastened to the scene of the wailing. As we approached the house, there was no one in the courtyard, except for Tom who had been waiting for us, but the sound

28: Spiro--137-138 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 763 Ifalik

of wierd and mournful wailing met our ears. The melody seems to be in a minor key and is very monotonous in its pattern, the same them repeated over and over again. But what it lacks in complexity and variation, it makes up in total effect. It is tragedy itself, penetrating to the very soul. It is almost death personified in all its tragedy and sorrow.'

As we entered the courtyard we were met by Tom, who brought us to the doorway, from which we could view the scene. The house, illuminated by a single, flickering candle, was filled with wailers, who were seated about the sick man. He was lying in the center of the room, with a flower garland on his head. The song being sung was a bwaruch, and as they sang, their bodies and arms would weave with the rhythm of the song, as in the love scene for which the song was originally composed. Each phrase would end with a loud, mournful, sob. At regular intervals the women would beat their chests with great force. The mother was particularly violent, tearing at her face with her finger nails.

This behavior is, of course, patterned, and it is difficult to tell whether the grief is genuine psychological grief, or merely stylized wailing. (2)

"2. Babies and infants are brought to these wailing ceremonies. Whether they are stylized or not is immaterial as far as the effect on the children must be. The abrupt change from the ever friendly, smiling and laughing adults, to the wailing, sad, ones must leave a deep impression on the children."

28: Spiro--137-138
116, 763

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-3
Ifalik

When the people are sure that a sick person is about to die his female relatives assemble to make a pandanus mat, in which he is wrapped at death. In the meantime, a new lavalava is brought, and as soon as the death is announced, the male relatives bring huge quantities of rope, in which the body will be tied."

28: Spiro--138 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 761 Ifalik

"There are five physical signs, which the natives employ as symptoms of death. The eyes do not blink; when opened, only the whites of the eyes are seen, the pupils having receeded under the eyelids; absence of movement in the belly which indicates lack of breathing; the mouth hangs opened, but the teeth are clenched tight; the body exudes excreta."

28: Spiro--138 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 775 Ifalik

"At death the soul leaves the body through the mouth, and becomes an alus."

28: Spiro--138-139 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-4
116, 764, 539 Ifalik

"When the person is pronounced dead, the wailers now mourn over the corpse with the singing of *arueru*. The following is an example of one:

Lament for Death of a Son
(the kind of Arueru lezari that is sung at the wailing sessions at a man's death)

Flower of the *aro*
And the *wut*, that grow by the house [139]
Near the gable end. .
What if he should get worse?
Why should this sickness come to him?
I am afraid he may die. .
He lies there and cannot get up.

Oh, now he lies dead!
I rush out beside the lagoon
Searching everywhere for him
But he is nowhere to be seen.
He will not come to the house as he used to,

28: Spiro--138-139 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 764, 539 Ifalik

If he were alive he would be here
Making everybody laugh with his jokes.
His mouth had a charming curve
As he talked and laughed merrily.
A fine beard he had
And beautiful eyebrows.

Missing him is like a fire
That burns my heart and eyes.
I am worn with sorrow.
No one can see my beautiful boy.

What a fine man he was.
Expert in all many [sic] crafts.
He worked hard in his plantation
Clearing out the weeds.
His place was over on the seaward side.
I remember what pride he took in it.

28: Spiro--138-139 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 764, 539 Ifalik

Go there now and what a difference.
The wind comes against my face
And blows on my body.
What if that wind were my boy come back to me.
I go along the shore
Walking in the sunlight
To the bay where he used to go
And around to the other side.
I sit down and there I see him
As if in a dream.
I know it is he before my very eyes.
He is not dead, he is alive.
He sits down beside me,
I think, what can I give him?
I call out come to me, it has been so long.
Tumeric from Truk, with its rare red
And the white paint I give him.

28: Spiro--138-139
116, 764, 539

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-4
Ifalik

He puts it on his hands, then rubs it on his face.
On his beautiful face and body.
What a lovely youth.
Flower about my neck,
Fragrant aro flower.
Anoint yourselves."

28: Spiro--140
116, 765, 152

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-5
Ifalik

"If the person dies in the early part of the day, the mourning is brief, and he is buried the same day. However, should he die in the late afternoon or evening, he is not buried until the next day, in which case the mourning lasts all night.

While the mourning is in process, friends and relatives are busy with the burial preparations. The corpse is painted red, and it is dressed in a new lavalava. The men who have brought rope are engaged in making a long rope-net, in which the body is to be wrapped.

The contrasting behavior of the mourners and of the others is very interesting. The mourners wail throughout this entire proceedings, and often get into a state of complete frenzy. This is praticularly true of the person's mothers and spouse. In the case of the man's death, mentioned above, the mother and wife beat their breasts and scratched their faces with such ferocity that they had to be restrained by some of the other women, who forcibly held their arms behind their backs. The others, however, seem little effected by the scene. It is true that the children are not permitted the usual run of the yard, and the young men inhibit their usual horseplay, but the solemnity that marks an American funeral, for example, is completely lacking. The men working on the rope-net seem quite gay, and joke as they work. The young children of the deceased seem unaware of the death of their parent, and continue to play and laugh, though the adults will periodically attempt to restrain any undue boisterousness.

This raises a serious psychological problem. Is the intense mourning of the immediate adult family of the deceased a genuine experience, or is it all 'culturally patterned'? Since I observed only three funerals, and the pattern in all three was the same, I tentatively adopted the hypothesis that both factors entered into the behavior, and my questioning of the people as well as other evidence seemed to indicate that the hypothesis had some degree of validity. My informants stated that all women, for example, express their mourning by tearing at their faces and breasts. Furthermore, if a woman did not do so, she would be criticized by the people as not showing sufficient love for the deceased. This would seem to indicate that the overt behavior itself is learned. But how about the private emotions of the mourners? The feeling, not the behavior, is the variable factor. There is evidence that indicates that the feeling, in some cases at least, is very intense. When Navor, died, her husband could not perform the culturally patterned wailing. He broke down completely and sobbed like a baby. Here we see complete personal disorganization so that the behavior becomes a pure expression of personal feeling, rather than becoming channeled in the cultural mode. In another instance, Arivimae, a young married man in his late twenties, burned the house of his dead mother, the day after her funeral, as an expression of his heated feelings. Unfortunately I did not observe his behavior during the funeral itself. But whether it was then culturally or

28: Spiro--140 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 765, 152 Ifalik

personally expressive, this extreme display of emotion indicates quite clearly the intensity of his feeling, since the practice of burning the house of the deceased is not practiced in this culture."

28: Spiro--140-141 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 764 Ifalik

"Another even more important psychological problem arises from the behavior exhibited in the aftermath of the funeral; but first let us take up our ethnographic story. [WPM: See p. 140, paragraph 2 and 3] When the rope-net is in readiness, the body is wrapped in it, and over it is wrapped the pandanus mat, and it is then tied with thick cord. The corpse is carried to the canoe, which will carry the body out to sea, by male kin of the deceased, while the mourners inside the house follow the procession to the canoe. The body is then wrapped in what seems like endless yards of rope, and is weighted down with stone, prior to burying it in the ocean. The female mourners, in the meantime, have entered the lagoon and continue their wailing, but the men do not continue theirs. While the body is being tied, some members of the family break the utensils used by the deceased during his illness. [141]

When all is in readiness, the sail is raised, and the body is taken out to sea, where it receives an ocean burial. The women continue their wailing in the water until the canoe has disappeared from sight. The canoe used for this purpose may not be put back into the canoe house, but must remain outside for four days, and may not be used."

28: Spiro--141
116, 764, 171, 821

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Ocean burial is not the rule in the Central Carolines. On the contrary, Ifaluk is the only culture that practices it, the others burying their dead in the ground. The natives say that there are two reasons for this practice. If the corpse is not removed from the island, a typhoon will destroy the idland. If the corpse is buried in the ground, its body fluids will mix with the soil, causing the vegetation to die. (3)"

"3. It should be noted that the fear of the presence of the dead is related to two of the people's most severe anxieties--the lack of food, and typhoons."

28: Spiro--141 [2]
116, 764, 801

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"After the burial, a number of taboos and practices are observed by the family of the deceased. The 'pall bearers' may not sleep in their own homes, but must sleep in the house of the deceased for four days. (4) Their food is prepared on a separate fire, and they may neither take from nor give another a light. Talemera, for example, would not share the cigarettes I had given him with Woromai, after it had been lit, because the latter had been a pall bearer. This taboo on the sharing of fire seems to be true of members of the family as well. Tom refused to light the cigarette of Novogopok, the mother of the man who had died, during the mourning period: 'I am afraid dead man,' for he might make him ill."

"4. Four is the sacred number in Ifaluk. Almost all abstention-taboos, as well as any other acts of supernatural import involve the number 4."

28: Spiro--141 [3]
116, 765

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The immediate family of the deceased does not work for ten days, and for four days it prepares no food, but is brought food by friends and relatives. The males may not climb coconut trees to obtain either coconuts or toddy. After the four day taboo in cooking and tree climbing, the male kin of the deceased bring baskets of coconuts to his household. The immediate family shave their heads, as a sign of mourning, and the mother continues to wail for the deceased every morning and evening for four days. The mourning is completely patterned, taking place in the lagoon, and consisting of the wailing recital of an arueru."

28: Spiro--141 [4]
116, 765, 784, 551

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A general taboo, which lasts not only for the four days of mourning, is the mentioning of the name of the dead. The immediate family may not ever mention it, nor may a stranger mention it in their presence. I saw a little child receive a beating from its mother for repeatedly using the name of its dead father, after she had warned him not to."

28: Spiro--141 [5]
116, 765, 784

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Finally, I accidentally discovered a taboo which applies to certain specific people, and which lasts during the four day mourning period. Lautrilus, a girl in her early teens, was eating some coconut meat, and I asked her for a piece. She extended her hand, but Tom, who was with us, would not permit her to give it to me. It seems that should any living person have had the same illness from which the deceased dies, he may not share his food, for the four days of mourning, with others."

28: Spiro--141-142 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 765, 784 Ifalik

"Taboos on working and cooking are much more stringent should the death occur in [142] a chiefly lineage. The immediate family may not work for one month, the clan may not work for ten days, and the entire village must refrain from working for four days. However, the men may fish, which is what they did after the death of Navor, who was a member of a lineage of chiefs. The canoes houses, however, are empty and the women merely sit idly. The men may climb the coconut trees, though they may not climb trees along the beach where they can be seen, but must go into the bush."

28: Spiro--142-143 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-Y
116, 765, 775, 855 Ifalik

"The behavior of the people following the burial is extremely interesting because of a seeming paradox. The paradox was obvious from the first death that I witnessed, and the same pattern was repeated in the other four deaths, and in each case my field notes remark on the phenomenon, though with different possible interpretations. I refer to the great discrepancy between the intense wailing prior to, and immediately following death, and the apparent lack of mourning and seeming forgetting of the person after death. The same person who indulges in the intense wailing, scratching of face and chest, and indulging in what seems like almost pure hysterical behavior, will, after the burial, revert to his normal personality, smiling, laughing and joking with no signs of bereavement. One would superficially say that this shows that the people do not really love their kin, and the wailing at the funeral is entirely formal and stylized. But this answer would be far from the truth. Despite the patterned nature of the mourning, the feelings felt are genuine. There is no question about the intense feelings of Arivimae, who burned his mother's house, or of Navor's husband. Yet, despite their acute suffering, they too showed no evidence of mourning or acute suffering even a couple of days after the burial. After the four day mourning period, they were in the canoe houses, laughing and joking, interested in the daily events, and eating heartily. The men had returned from fishing, and Navor's husband was intensely interested in the fish he was about to eat, displaying a remarkable appetite for a man in sorrow.

But the problem goes even deeper. The people are vitally concerned about the recovery of an ill person. They will, and do, sacrifice energy, time, wealth, to ensure his recovery. Maroligar, and Wetriliar, for example, the maternal uncle and brother-in law, respectively, of Navor, did everything in their powers to save her when she was ill. They conducted rituals, they made medicine, they literally devoted their entire day for a period of at least a month, when she was critically ill, to her service. When they saw that she could not be helped and that she was going to die, they were deeply crushed. Their mental suffering was obvious to anyone. But immediately after the burial, the very same day, they were laughing and smiling, giving no evidence of any mourning. It is as if the deceased is completely forgotten, as if he never existed, and life goes on. In fact during the official mourning period, Maroligar spent his days playing cards with the young men.

Now to us this may seem callous. This is another indication, some might say, of the primitive' lack of sensibility. But, such an interpretation would be false and merely display a narrow ethnocentrism. That the people love each other deeply is shown throughout this entire monograph. It is true, of course, that the love applies only to the living not to the dead. And in a small society, such as Ifaluk, reality dictates the necessity of such behavior. Since all the people interract with great intimacy, and the relationship between them is very close, the culture would collapse if mourning were long and protracted, and the people let themselves be overwhelmed by death. Intense suffering would incapacitate them, they could not do their work, and the results would be disastrous. Instead, the mourning is brief, but intensely acute, a real catharsis is experienced, and then life continues.

But the reality situation alone cannot explain this phenomenon. People do not or cannot always adjust to the demands of reality. Furthermore, what must be explained here is not the overt behavior but the psychological experience. The people could conceivably return to their normal living, but still suffer. What accounts for the seeming abrupt end of the psychological mourning? As far as I can see, there [143] are only two conceivable reasons. First, there is the belief in the continued existence of the soul. The person is not extinguished, his existence continues, but in another form, and there is some communication with him. This answer, however, is not adequate since the same belief obtains in other societies, and the reaction to death is not the same. Another answer suggests itself, which we shall point to only briefly here, and examine its implications and ramifications in the section on personality. The growing child, it will be remembered, forms no exclusive emotional attachments. He is surrounded by many adults, many of whom play as important roles in his life as his own parents. This means that the emotional cathexis of the individual are not intense, but are distributed over a number of

28: Spiro--142-143 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-4
116, 765, 775, 855 Ifalik

people. This means that though the indivdual feels a loss at the death of a loved one, this loss is not as a severe drainage of one's own ego since there are numerous other individuals for whom the individual feels similar attachments. In a society in which individuals form exclusive emotional cathesis, death means a serious drainage of one's own narcisstic supplies, since the identification has been intense, and the other's extinction is felt as one's own. But there the cathexis are diffuse, the loss of one is not severe, since the person has established many other identifications and they continue after the death of any one. This means, to employ a figure that though one psychological tentacle has lost its object, the others still cling to theirs."

28: Spiro--144 [2]
116, 512, 264

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"People do not eat immediately upon rising; indeed it would be difficult to indicate any general pattern of regularity of meals. People may or may not eat, as they please, when they awaken. And they eat whatever happens to be at hand-- a coconut, or leftover food from the day before. The women of the household may prepare some food in the morning, which may then be eaten about 9:00 by anyone who happens to be present."

28: Spiro--144
116, 512

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though the daily routine varies seasonally, and even daily and though it varies from individual to individual, and according to age and sex, certain over-all patterns may be described.

Usually the entire population is up at dawn. The first to get up are the mothers with infants, for they must take their babies to be washed in the lagoon. If a woman has decided to work in the taro patch that day, she rises with the crowing of the cocks. Men and women wash in the lagoon upon waking in the morning, unless the woman is going to the taro patch, in which case she waits until her return. The young men and women do not usually wash until the afternoon. For upon rising the young men usually have the responsibility of getting toddy, and the young women go in the bush for flowers, or may prepare food."

28: Spiro--144 [3]
116, 512, 272

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Everyone has his toddy in the morning. A person could no more begin his day without toddy than the average American can begin his without coffee. But toddy in Ifaluk is more than the 'national drink.' There is almost an aura of sanctity surrounding it, and it becomes almost a moral duty to make it. Should a man not make toddy, he is accused of violating one of the important marital and familial obligations. Since the toddy is one of the few sources of concentrated sweet or sugary foods the people have, the emphasis placed on it might be explained on this rational basis. But this rational consideration, I do not believe is a sufficient explanation. The attitude towards it is much too reverential to be explained on purely utilitarian grounds. Men sacrifice for toddy certain conveniences they would sacrifice for nothing else. For example, rainy and damp days are abhorred by the natives, and all activity practically ceases. But one activity that continues, however, no matter how bad the weather, is the collection of toddy. The first thing the men did after the big blow, which the natives called a minor typhoon, was to collect their toddy."

28: Spiro--144 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 264, 512, 462 Ifalik

"There is no family noon meal either. There is usually some cooked food in the house by noontime, which the members of the family may consume together. If the men have no special economic activity which keeps them busy, they may return to their homes to eat. On the other hand, if they are occupied in some communal work, they do not eat at all until they complete the job, and then will eat in the canoe houses, the food having been prepared by the women. If engaging in ordinary sustained work, such as construction of a canoe, the men will eat about noon, but again they will eat in the canoe houses-coconuts, small fish caught in the traps, and/or prepared taro or breadfruit brought by the women. The boys, young and old, may eat with the men, if they are helping in the work, they may go home to eat, or, if they had caught some small fish, or crabs, they prepare them themselves, and eat along the beaches, rather than take them home. This means that the women and girls are the only ones at home at noon, and they usually eat together."

28: Spiro--144-145
116, 827, 264

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"After eating the people may belch with impunity. Belching is simply not considered indecent, as it is in our society, nor is it an indication of having enjoyed the meal, as it is in other societies. It is just a neutral physiological act. [145]

The same is true, incidentally, of picking one's nose. People do this in public without any sense of shame."

28: Spiro--145 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 264, 512, 593 Ifalik

"Though, again there is much variation, the evening meal is usually a cooked meal, and is usually a family meal. The time of eating varies anywhere from about 5:00 to 8:00. However, except for the women, there is no regularity about the other members of the family coming home for dinner. They may eat at other homes, or they may not feel like eating at all. The food is prepared, however, if they want it. But no one is important enough that the family cannot eat until he returns. This need not surprise us. Ifaluk, being so small, the members of the family are always in close proximity to the home. A person may return to his house a dozen or more times a day. The evening meal, therefore, is not the only opportunity that members of the family have to see each other. They are always near each other, so that closeness--both physical and psychological--is always felt, without the institution of the family meal."

28: Spiro--145 [2]
116, 512, 261

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Furthermore, with respect to the sheer physical fact of eating, there is no compulsive ritual about eating in Ifaluk. People eat when hungry, there being no compulsion to eat at certain regular intervals or times. As already mentioned, any person is offered food whenever he enters a courtyard. This is true of children, as well. Ordinarily, therefore, people are not famished when 6:00 comes around. Furthermore, since no one has pressing appointments, it is not necessary that everyone eat at the same time, so as to enable the individual members of the family may get away on time for an evening engagement. There is nothing that cannot wait."

28: Spiro--145 [3]
116, 264, 343

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Food is seldom eaten in the house itself. It is prepared in the malum, the cookshed, and eaten outside the house. Only on a cold or rainy day will it be eaten inside. The natives explain their outdoor eating by claiming that this keeps scraps of food from remaining in the house. Whether there is a deeper psychological significance, I do not know."

28: Spiro--145 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 264, 782 Ifalik

"Usually, when the meal is prepared, a dish of food is set aside for the benevolent *alus* of the household, and the chief of the household recites a few words of thanksgiving, thanking the alus for protecting the members of the household. On the other hand, if the alus were a poor protector, and illness had befallen some of the people, no food is offered him. This offering is called either *agai-l'alus* or *maipi-l'alus.*"

28: Spiro--145-146 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-3
116, 512, 276, 461 Ifalik

"Unless there is something special the men are doing in the way of communal construction or communal fishing, their average day involves no special committments. Usually they go to the canoe houses, where they may make rope, or may just sit around talking, (5) gossiping, and smoking (6) or perhaps take a nap. Rope making is [146] probably the activity that consumes most of a man's time. While making rope, of course, the men continue their conversations. Often, however, they just sit in the canoe-houses,

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"5. The people rarely, if ever, sit on the bare ground. They always sit on a mat, and if there is none around, they will sit on a coconut husk, or any other object that happens to be about. At first I thought that sitting on the bare ground is tabooed behavior, perhaps the soil is holy. Upon inquiring I discovered the real reason is much more prosaic. The natives simply do not like the feeling of the damp ground. I must have seemed boorish to the people when I first came, because I would sit on the ground without bothering about a mat or a coconut husk.

6. [See following sheet for footnote 6.]"

28: Spiro--145-146 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 512, 276, 461, Ifalik

"6. [Footnote p. 146] Smoking is a cooperative enterprise. When a person lights a cigarette, he invariably passes it to the person near him, after he has smoked a short time. That person, in turn, passes it on, so that it might change hands five or six times until it is consumed. When we first arrived on the island, I not only did not pass on my cigarette, but I would put out my cigarette butt, rather than pass it on. I soon noticed the questioning look on the faces of the people at this anti-social behavior. It was not till a few weeks had passed that I learned the native pattern, and conformed to it."

28: Spiro--145-146 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 512, 276, 461 Ifalik

engaging in no activity at all, not even talking. This is quite strange from a western perspective, where a congregation of people always leads to conversation. The Ifaluk men, however, may sit for long periods of time, just staring into space. In any event, the canoe house is the place where men spend a great deal of their waking hours. It is really, as we have already indicated, the men's club house, as well as the locale for most economic activity. That the canoe-house serves a basic social need is indicated by the fact that men never make rope at home. The twisting of rope involves no great activity nor is it messy, and could very well be done at home, either in the house or alongside it. The reason for going to the canoe-house, therefore, is entirely for the purpose of conviviality."

28: Spiro--146
116, 512, 462, 517

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The women spend their days in various activities. If they work in the taro patches, they remain the entire morning and part of the afternoon. Otherwise, they may cook or work on a skirt, or look after the house. Like the men, the women do not like to work alone, and usually gather in groups for their work, at which time conversation and gossip, as well as singing, are all part of the day's activity. Some of the work, like cooking is enhanced by the women working in groups. But usually, the work itself is entirely individualistic, the gathering together, being entirely for reasons of sociability and conversation."

28: Spiro--146 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 561, 868 Ifalik

"In both the case of men and of women, age differences imply no social differences. An older woman might be requested by a younger woman to examine the skirt she is making if she has a difficulty. A younger man may ask an older man for help on a fine point in the making of a fish trap. But, in all cases, there seems to be no social differentials based on age."

28: Spiro--146 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 854 Ifalik

"Both men and women may take charge of the children. The older children, of course, play by themselves. The infants are cared for by their mothers. But those intermediate may be taken to the canoe-houses by the men, or by the women."

28: Spiro--146 [4]
116, 883, 517

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The adolescent boys may sit around the canoe houses with the men, or may, as in the district of Felarik, have a canoe house of their own in which they congregate. The activity, however, is the same as in the case of the older men. They, too, often sit about, just staring blankly into space. One favorite activity of the young men is the sharpening of knives. Whenever they have nothing to do, or if conversation lags, they will take out their knives and sharpen them on the whetstone, with the result that their knives are razor-sharp and it is no surprise that they shave with them. (7)"

"7. There is little rationality in their almost compulsive knife sharpening. The knives are already sharp. It is likely that this preoccupation has unconscious, symbolic significance. I have no evidence but suspect that is is related to certain sexual anxieties, perhaps a castration anxiety."

28: Spiro--147
116, 517, 226

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Often, the young men will go fishing in the afternoon, and what they catch is eaten by them immediately. The playing of checkers or cards may take up an entire morning or afternoon."

28: Spiro--147 [2]
116, 222, 512, 515

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In the late afternoon the young men again collect their toddy. And at the same time, they take their afternoon bath. Everyone bathes in the late afternoon. The women bathe in the lagoon directly in front of their houses, walking into the water, wearing their skirts. The men usually bathe in a secluded beach far from habitation, and change loin cloths, which they keep in the canoe houses. Both sexes use grated coconut meat as soap."

28: Spiro--147 [3]
116, 562, 883, 573

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The young women do not, as we have already pointed out, associate in gangs, as the young men do. Young women, in their late adolescence are already married, and, like the older women, remain near or about the homes. This means that the young women are integrated earlier into the adult female world, than are the young men into the adult male world."

28: Spiro--147 [4]
116, 512

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There is little activity after bathing. [WPM: in late afternoon] The people retire to their own homes, or to the homes of someone else. The canoe-houses and beaches are empty."

28: Spiro--147 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 576 Ifalik

"The generic form of greeting, when meeting someone is mauas, which could be roughly translated as, 'greetings.' On the other hand, it is also a term of gratitude. You thank a person for a gift or a courtesy by mauas. Mauas also has the connotation of reverence or respect. For example, when you take your departure, you say, hosamen, which has the meaning of, remain where you are. He reciprocates with hosaelox, meaning, you are going. But when taking leave of a person whom you respect highly, you add mauas to your farewell--hosamen mauas.

A person sitting in his home or canoe house, who sees another person approaching, greets him with ebwutog meia, literally, from whence are you coming? Now this not only has the figurative force of a greeting, but it retains its original literal meaning, so that the person addressed tells him where he has come from. At times it is almost humorous to hear a man shouting, ebwutog meia at a person who is quite far away. What makes this greeting so interesting to the outsider is the fact of the smallness of the atoll, which leaves little lattitude in answering the question."

28: Spiro--147 [6]
116, 512, 517

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"After dinner, activity again breaks down into sex and age categories. The families sit about, talking, drinking toddy, smoking, and exchanging news of the day. Often, a couple visits its in-laws. Some families may sing a chapeng until they retire, others may visit the home of a sick person. During the dark of the moon, the family usually retires to the interior of the house when it gets dark, and go to sleep shortly after. The children usually going to sleep at the same time as the parents.

On moonlit nights, the people do not retire until much later. They remain out-of-doors, with seemingly great spirits, and laughter may be heard ringing out from many courtyards."

28: Spiro--147 [7]
116, 512, 517, 533, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"After dinner the young men rarely remain at home, but return again to the canoe-house, or in the case of a moonlit night to the beaches. Like the adults they talk about the events of the day, or of some projected plan, or just small talk. They often sing songs, mostly bwaruch, though chapengs are also sung. If I were with them, they were eager that I tell them of America or teach them some English. On a dark night they return to their homes at dark, but on a moonlit night they may fish from the beach, and often they would along the reef in their canoes.

The young women never leave their homes after dinner, except in the company of their parents, again the boys enjoying greater freedom than the girls."

28: Spiro--147 [8]
116, 836

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Sweethearts do not meet until after dark, when the others are already asleep."

28: Spiro--148
116, 513

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Formerly all unmarried males slept in the club houses. This no longer obtains. But after the trade winds set in, the young unmarried men of Rauaua slept in one of the canoe houses. They would retire to the canoe-house after dark, and sing and talk for a long time before going to sleep. Before long, everyone is sleeping."